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ABSTRACT

This journal presents new perspectives and materials on Japan that are engaging, relatively jargon-free, and shaped so that their usefulness in a college classroom is readily apparent. The journal represents an example of the potential for genuine scholarship that lies within interdisciplinary studies. Articles are divided among three thematic sections: (1) "Business History and Practices in Japan" ("'Keiretsu,' Japan's Intercorporate Group Alliance: Will It Survive?" S. J. Chang); (2) "Anthropology and History of Japan" ("The Peopling of Early Japan," Don Quinn Kelley; "A Texan at the Meiji Court: Richard Bennet Hubbard's Embassy to Japan, 1885-1889," Andrew S. Szarka; and "Some Positive Aspects of the Japanese Colonial Period in Micronesia, 1914 to 1935," Dirk Anthony Ballendorf); (3) "Psychology, Education and Programs" ("Psychological Aspects of the Way of Tea," Sheila Fling; "Japanese Education Reinterpeted: Reexamining Japanese and American Educational Strategies in Light of Western Educational and Social Psychology," Cheryl E. Drout; "Think Polytechnic: Japan Studies at a Technical University," William S. Pfeiffer; and "Immersion in Multicultural America: A Language and Culture Program for Japanese University Students," Harold M. Murai, Garth Lewis, Kathy Windover). Contains two book reviews. (BT)

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EDITORS

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JAPAN STUDIES ASSOCIATION JOURNAL

Second Volume of the Japan Studies Association

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University of New Orleans

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Massachusetts College of Art

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JAPAN STUDIES ASSOCIATION JOURNAL
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From the President of JSA

The Japan Studies Association is a group of university professors, librarians, and administrators who have in common an interest in Japan Studies. Because we come from many different disciplines (from art to business and from theater to technical communication), we examine any subject from many different perspectives. Sharing research with such a group often allows us to improve our conclusions as the result of suggestions from colleagues who view them from a point of view very different from our own. The papers included in this volume are indicative of the interdisciplinary membership of our organization. They run the gamut from "The Peopling of Early Japan" to an examination of *keiretsu*.

Most of us share another characteristic: that is, we are employees of American Association of State Colleges and Universities (AASCU) institutions. The universities that we represent, from the small primarily liberal arts undergraduate colleges to the huge multi-purpose universities with extensive graduate programs, produce over three-fourths of the baccalaureate degree recipients in the United States. Since most of our institutions do not have extensive Japan Studies programs, our organization provides about the only opportunity that many of us have to discuss our interest with others who share them. The *Japan Studies Association Journal* provides a medium by which we can present the results of our research. I would like to express my thanks to the co-editors and the editorial board of the journal for doing such a good job with this volume.

I look forward to an even better groups of projects for our next edition and to seeing many of you at our next annual conference.

Earl F. Schrock, Jr.
President, Japan Studies Association
Arkansas Tech University
Russellville, Arkansas

JAPAN STUDIES ASSOCIATION JOURNAL
Volume 2, 1998

From the Editors

This volume of the Japan Studies Association Journal has been over a year in development. It has survived several floods and hurricanes in New Orleans and blizzards elsewhere. It has endured being transferred through four different computers. We wish to thank all of the patient authors who trusted us with their manuscripts and the members of JSA who encouraged us to take on this task. This small volume presents the best papers from the third annual conference in San Antonio and the fourth annual conference in Honolulu.

Though this volume is small, it does fulfill two very important objectives that we had in mind. First, it presents new perspectives and materials on Japan that are engaging, relatively jargon-free and shaped so that their usefulness in a college classroom is readily apparent. Secondly, this volume of the Japan Studies Association Journal represents a strong example of the potential for scholarship that lies within interdisciplinary studies. Much is said about the need to break down barriers and meld boundaries between the various academic disciplines, and this volume is a tangible demonstration of what can be achieved.

We have divided the papers into four sections:.

Section I, Business History and Practices in Japan, features S. D. Chang's analysis of the Japanese corporate structure s called *keiretsu*, providing readers with a detailed and informative guide to the organization of Japanese big businesses and their alliances. In Section II, Anthropology and History relating to Japan Studies, Don Quinn Kelley provides insight into the progenitors of modern Japanese while Andrew Szarka and Dirk Ballendorf provide views of two periods in Japanese history. Szarka examines the role of a Texas diplomat in the Meiji Period; Ballendorf examines the work of the Japanese in Micronesia. In Section III, Psychology , Education and Programs in Japan Studies, Sheila Fling and Cheryl Drout develop two aspect of the Japanese psyche for American readers : the Way of Tea and reinterpretation of Japanese education while William Pfeifer , and Harold Murai, Garth Lewis and Kathy Windover look at different programs within the Japan Studies domain. Finally, in Section IV, Dirk Ballendorf provides some resources for readers in the form of reviews two books.

We wish to thank Alvin Coox and Peter Krawutschke who have helped in the production of this volume with their insightful editorial comments and prompt responses. We thank John Barnitz, Chairperson of Curriculum and Instruction at the University of New Orleans, for encouragement. We especially thank Thomas Carneal, Joe Overton, and Earl Schrock for their support in this endeavor and the work they continue to do in the development of the Japan Studies Association.

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Keiretsu, Japan's Intercorporate Group Alliance: Will It Survive?

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From 'Japan Bashing' To 'Japan Passing'

Despite the continued prevalence of Japanese corporations and their prowess in the world economy, the true nature and characteristics of the Japanese corporate organizational system are still not very well understood by outsiders. During the 1980s when Japan, Inc. handily defeated corporate USA in their head-to-head competition, 'Japan Bashing' was the dominant theme. However, since the early 1990s when the U.S. economy bounced back while Japan suffered its worst postwar recession, 'Japan Bashing' has turned into 'Japan Passing.' But can we really afford to ignore a Japan which will continue to be one of the most dominant, powerful, and resilient economies in the coming century?

In the wake of the recent economic crisis in East Asia, the world should once again be on alert as the fallout is likely to cover the entire global economy. Nevertheless, there is still tremendous ignorance and negligence about Japan on the part of many Western corporate executives and managers. In particular, Japan's *keiretsu* system remains as one of the most elusive and mysterious aspects of Japanese corporate environments in the eyes of Western business people.

This paper reexamines the keiretsu system, Japan's unique corporate organizational structure which has been widely recognized as one of the key factors that made today's globalized, giant Japanese economy possible. It discusses the main characteristics of the keiretsu system, its structure and key players, cultural and institutional ingredients, and its control and governance issues. The analysis and discussion should help to answer many practically meaningful questions: Is keiretsu an efficient system? Only in Japan? Is it designed to keep foreign competition out? What are the disadvantages, problems, or side effects of the keiretsu system? Can and should others emulate it? Will it survive? In order to provide a more complete understanding of the keiretsu system, the paper takes a holistic approach, as in Gerlach (1992), which not only considers relevant theory and practice of business management but also takes into consideration various cultural and institutional elements.

***Keiretsu* - A Legacy of Samurai**

During the seventeenth century Tokugawa Period, a prosperous urban merchant class was developed under the direct protection of feudal government. These merchant houses, such as Mitsui House, were engaged in such businesses as dry goods and kimono retailing, sake brewing, pawnshops, cash-and-carry discount stores, and money exchange and banking (Reischauer, 1988). Echigoya Dry-Goods Store, one of many advanced retail outlets Mitsui established, opened in 1673. In 1691, Mitsui secured exclusive rights as the shogunate's official broker in bills of exchange. As its business expanded (largely through acquiring government businesses at bargain prices), Mitsui managed its properties like a household business. Ownership did not fall to individuals but to the 'house.' Workers recruited from the poor peasantry were treated like members of the household. This spirit of communality effectively veiled the possible exploitative and adversarial relationships between owners and workers commonly seen in the Western business environment (Kawamura, 1982). In 1876, the Mitsui family established Mitsui Bank and Mitsui Bussan (a trading company), which, together with Mitsukoshi (as the Echigoya store was renamed in 1928), became the foundation of the family's giant business clique, Mitsui zaibatsu.

Horie (1965) notes the significance of the role of the samurai families in founding Japan's business class. Throughout the Meiji Era (1868-1912), many enterprising leaders emerged from the samurai class; Hirschmeier (1964) finds that twenty-three of the fifty leading entrepreneurs in the early Meiji Era were samurai. An example is a samurai entrepreneur, Iwasaki Yataro, who was the economic agent in Nagasaki for his feudal domain. With the ships he acquired from the domain, Iwasaki built up the

Mitsubishi Company, the cornerstone of another business clan, Mitsubishi zaibatsu. Mitsui and Mitsubishi, along with Sumitomo and Yasuda families, known as the Old Big Four, grew even bigger after the Meiji Era which essentially laid the foundation of modern Japan. By the turn of the century, the Big Four and other smaller zaibatsu businesses, such as Asano, Furukawa, Shibusawa, Okura, Suzuki, Nomura, and Fujita were controlling a diverse group of large industries.

After World War I, although some of the smaller zaibatsu groups were weakened or even collapsed (e.g., Suzuki), the Old Big Four not only survived but expanded further. By the1930s, they were run by the well educated second or third generation of the original founders. By 1937, Mitsui owned assets worth 1.6 billion yen. In 1944, Yasuda controlled 40 billion yen in banking while Mitsubishi owned 60 percent of the nation's glass, 50 percent of flour milling, 35 percent of sugar, and 25 percent of shipping and shipbuilding. In 1945, Sumitomo had investments in 123 companies spread over 30 industries.

Such phenomenal expansion of zaibatsu was supported by the government which basically did not concern itself with forbidding or establishing control over trusts and cartels (Lockwood, 1954). Depending on the scope of the definition, there were ten to twenty zaibatsu combines in prewar Japan. Although Japanese firms today are eager to disconnect themselves from the now stigmatized, pejorative connotation of the zaibatsu, all major keiretsu groups can trace their heritage to zaibatsu origins.

Immediately before World War II, the continued success of zaibatsu combines under the slogan of "what's good for the company is good for the nation," was met with public criticism and outcry, particularly since the nation was preparing for 'the imperial holy war.' Soon Japan's old zaibatsu groups and some newly formed combines (e.g., Nissan) were heavily engaged in building fighter planes, battleships, and other military supplies throughout the Imperial Japan's Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere which covered Korea, China, Manchuria, Taiwan, and other Southeast Asian colonies.

After the defeat of imperial Japan, the ensuing American Occupation, in an effort to democratize the war-stricken Japanese economy, eliminated family-owned zaibatsu holding companies, froze their assets, and purged their top executives. Once powerful Mitsubishi Shoji, for example, was broken up into over 170 separate trading companies. In 1947, the Anti-monopoly Law (AML) and the Fair Trade Commission (FTC) were established in order to promote healthy competition in the corporate sector.

Subsequently the government bureaucracy, including the powerful Ministry of International Trade and Industry (MITI), the Ministry of Finance (MOF), and the Bank of Japan (BOJ), along with the elite corporate bureaucrats of ex-zaibatsu corporations, took charge in charting and shaping the Japanese economy. By 1953, MITI was actually calling for "keiretsufication" (Miyashita & Russell, 1994). Johnson (1982) argues that through its bureaucratic expediency known as 'administrative guidance,' the Japanese government established de facto state-run business cartels which effectively rendered the AML and FTC all but housebroken. This was partly due to the Occupation's change of course from the reformation (1945-1947) to the stability (1948-1952) of the Japanese economy.

Although the postwar Japan officially destroyed the old zaibatsu system, it was not able to kill the spiritual legacy of zaibatsu, i.e., familial and corporate loyalty, paternalistic employee protection, collective responsibility, communitarian ethics, and consensus decision making. After the Occupation ended in 1952, not only old zaibatsu names were reborn, but also their power, prestige, and even human networks were reestablished (Maruyama, 1992). The dissolved Mitsubishi Shoji was reorganized under the same name. The members were allotted shares in the new firm, thus giving birth to 'cross-shareholding,' the key concept of the keiretsu system.

The 1950s in Japan witnessed the rise of big commercial ('city') banks and large keiretsu groups including the famous 'Big Six,' i.e., Mitsui, Mitsubishi, Sumitomo, Fuyo, Sanwa, and Dai-Ichi Kangyo. These postwar keiretsu groups were more heterogeneous than before. At the center of each group, typically, were three components: a large bank known as the 'main bank,' a large trading company called sogo shosha, and core manufacturers.

Fierce competition among the Big Six and other keiretsu corporations developed in the late 1950s. By the 1970s, the Japanese economy, thanks largely to the keiretsu system, was able to achieve international competitiveness in all major industrial sectors. As the trends of deregulation and liberalization continued in the recent global market, the control and intervention of the Japanese government (particularly MITI, MOF, and BOJ) weakened considerably, while the power and

influence of the keiretsu groups remained largely intact. Today, the Japanese economy is seen as neither a complete free-market economy nor a completely government-controlled one. Rather, it is viewed as one governed by the dynamic tension between the government bureaucracy and keiretsu business.

Keiretsu Defined or Undefined

What is a keiretsu, anyway? Literally, kei means "channel" or "connection" and retsu "line" or "rank." Together, therefore, keiretsu means something close to "clique." In its simplest form, a keiretsu is a group of individual firms viewed together, usually as a hierarchical organization (Miyashita & Russell, 1994). However, in a society where virtually everything is indirect or implicit and everything is not mutually exclusive, the definition of a keiretsu is also not clear cut. The keiretsu is subtle, and the arrangements between firms are implicit. Arguing that the term keiretsu is ambiguous, Hoshi (1994) actually uses the term kigyo shudan, which means "corporate groups," in place of keiretsu.

It is really unclear how many keiretsu groups exist in Japan. Almost all companies listed on Japan's stock exchanges have at least one group of subsidiaries or affiliates, however weak the ties may be. Yet, certain large groups are not just loose links between firms, but groups of many companies working for and within a single large business combine. It is such a large corporate combine that we define here as a keiretsu. A rather conservative 'guesstimate' of Miyashita and Russell (1994) is that the Big Six keiretsu groups comprise no less than one third of Japan's total economy.

Two types of keiretsu commonly recognized are horizontal and vertical. A horizontal (or intermarket) keiretsu is a group of large firms in diverse industries typically centered around a large bank called the 'main bank,' whereas a vertical keiretsu is a corporate group under a large manufacturing company. The largest and best-known horizontal keiretsu groups are the Big Six. The 'Old Three,' Mitsui, Mitsubishi, and Sumitomo are known for their strong group identity. Most of their member companies bear the group name and logo. The 'New Three,' Fuyo, Sanwa, and Dai-Ichi Kangyo Bank (DKB) are relatively loose affiliations. In addition to these Big Six, there are also smaller ones that fall in this category, such as Seibu, Daiei and Ito-Yokado, and Tokyu.

Well known vertical keiretsu groups include Toyota, Nissan, Sony, Hitachi, Honda, Toshiba, and Matsushita. The vertical keiretsu typically originates with the assembly operation of the manufacturers cooperating with related medium and small suppliers. In fact, the vertical keiretsu groups in Japan represent a large segment of its industry that is internationally competitive, such as automobiles and electronics. Chen (1993) summarizes the main characteristics of the Toyota keiretsu as:

1) A high ratio of contract business with suppliers relative to the in-plant production of the core company, i.e., Toyota Motor (the in-plant production ratio in Toyota is 30%, while the comparable number for U.S. and European producers is typically 50-70%);
2) Long-term friendly relations between Toyota and a small number of direct suppliers (it is unlikely that new major suppliers will be brought in unless there are some significant changes in their production process);
3) Major R&D projects, model changes, managerial/operational innovations, such as total quality management (TQM) and just in-time (JIT) inventory system, planned and coordinated with key suppliers who usually have high R&D capability;
4) Frequent movement of personnel within the group.

Nissan, another big vertical keiretsu has 38 first-tier parts suppliers in addition to 118 nonmember suppliers. These first-tier suppliers supply functional parts, design parts, and machine parts. But it also has about 2,000 second-tier suppliers within the group and another 3,000 nonmembers. A third-tier includes even more contractors. A vertical keiretsu is indeed a huge pyramid.

Vertical keiretsu groups have been continuously devising various innovative management tools that have eventually given them competitive edge in the world market. In addition to TQM and JIT, examples include the statistical quality control system (Deming 1950), process automation (jidoka), quality control and quality assurance (QC/QA). Such keiretsu-led innovation has allowed the Japanese firms to achieve continuous and gradual accumulation of improvements in quality, productivity, and cost efficiency (known as the concept of kaizen).

This contrasts with the typical Western approach which tends to rely more on revolutionary breakthroughs than gradual improvement in corporate management. Recently, however, some large American companies have been adapting some of the (vertical) keiretsu concepts into their management innovation. Dyer (1996) states that Chrysler invented an 'American keiretsu' by combining key components of Japanese keiretsu system with its own innovative ideas, such as

cross-functional teams, pre-sourcing, total value-chain improvement, and enhanced communication and coordination. Putnam and Chan (1998) further argue that the American keiretsu model helps the firm to establish or maintain global competitive advantage.

Vertical keiretsu groups exist in almost every industry in Japan and most of them are production-centered. However, there are also distribution-oriented vertical keiretsu groups. A distributional keiretsu can be organized by the manufacturers to control or manage sales outlets. Dealers, distributors, wholesalers, and retailers are organized around a large consumer good manufacturer. An example is Shiseido, a top cosmetics company with almost 400 wholesalers and over 2,000 vendors throughout Japan.

It is often unclear which company belongs to which keiretsu. Honda's main bank is Mitsubishi Bank, one of its three outside directors is from Mitsubishi Bank, and its largest shareholders are all Mitsubishi Group companies. Does that mean Honda belongs to Mitsubishi keiretsu? Not quite. Because of its strong independent management position, Honda is not considered as part of the Mitsubishi Group. In Japan, a company may belong to more than one horizontal keiretsu group, both a horizontal and a vertical keiretsu, a horizontal and a distributional keiretsu, or may be considered independent.

The concept of keiretsu is often confused, or synonymously used, with that of the Korean corporate combine, chaebol. While some similarities exist between them, (for example, both are influenced by similar cultural roots), several distinct differences exist (Steers, Shin, & Ungson, 1989). Notably, most Korean chaebol companies (including Hyundai, Samsung, Daewoo, and LG) are closely held by family members, whereas the percentage of family ownership in most keiretsu groups is much smaller. This means that a greater concentration of wealth and power is found in fewer hands of Korean chaebols.

The extensive family ownership in Korean chaebol groups also means that the majority of their top managers are family members. This contrasts with the Japanese case where a far greater percentage of professional managers work their way to the top management. While the decision-making in a keiretsu is more consensus-based, a typical Korean chaebol's decision-making process can be quite authoritative and absolute. Huh and Kim (1993) also argue that compared to Japan's keiretsu, direct government policy plays a much more important role in the rise of Korea's chaebol. In passing, it is interesting to note that while the Japanese keiretsu system is under pressure of restructuring, Korean chaebols are also going through complete remodeling in the wake of the country's dramatic economic downturn in recent months.

Tight Control Over a Loose Structure

Main Bank or 'Mama' Bank?

Virtually every Japanese company maintains a very close business relationship with a bank that can be labeled as its main bank or perhaps 'mama' bank. The relationship, although an implicit one, is considered to be so critical that it is essentially the key to the company's survivability, let alone prosperity. Approximately 80% of the total capital of Japanese large-scale companies is borrowed, mostly from their main banks. The main bank is the nucleus of the (horizontal) keiretsu, and the keiretsu main banks are the largest city banks in Japan. For example, with over $648 billion of total assets, Tokyo-Mitsubishi Bank, the main bank for the Mitsubishi group, ranks as the largest bank in the world. For this reason, the horizontal keiretsu is sometimes called a banking keiretsu.

According to Sheard (1989), four keiretsu banks, Tokyo-Mitsubishi, Sakura (the main bank for Mitsui Group), Sumitomo, and Fuji (Fuyo Group), stand out prominently, each serving (or 'controlling') over 100 firms. In addition, the other two keiretsu banks, Sanwa Bank and Dai-Ichi Kangyo Bank (DKB), cover another 120 firms or so. Lending is of course the most important role of the main bank. Overall, the main bank is either the primary or secondary lender to about 85% of Japan's largest companies; however, the main bank in the keiretsu system is also a major shareholder in many of the key member firms. The keiretsu main banks are among the nation's largest and most stable shareholders. Collectively, they are among the top three shareholders for more than half of the exchange-listed companies in Japan. The main bank's concentrated financial assistance along with significant shareholding position provides its member companies with long standing protection and assurance under which they can pursue aggressive management policies (Abegglen & Stalk, 1985).

Imai (1990) points out that the main bank is not merely a lender but also a well-informed venture capitalist. Because of its extensive information gathering role as a lender, a shareholder, and a credit monitor, the main bank is familiar with its member firms' technical developments and R&D progress. Sumitomo Bank's initiative in NEC's semiconductor project during the 1970s is a well known example.

The main bank also functions as a 'company doctor' (Miyashita & Russell, 1994). As if serving up to a popular adage in the Japanese business circle, 'Japanese companies do not go bankrupt,' the main bank stands ready to help stabilize ailing firms in the group. So, when a company is in trouble, it is usually the main bank, not the government or the court, that acts as its last resort. That is because the main banks are the only institutions that have the capital, information, and human resources to perform the role adequately. The Big Six main banks as well as the Industrial Bank of Japan, the 'seventh' bank, have engaged in numerous corporate rescue operations. Recently IBJ has been known to provide ongoing support for the struggling Fuji Heavy Industries (maker of Subaru cars).

Thus, the main bank in a keiretsu functions simultaneously as the lender, shareholder, protector, helper, guide, and the last resort for the member firms. This means that the potential conflict of interests among various corporate stakeholder groups is less severe in Japan than in the United States where this agency problem is more conspicuous due to more diffused corporate ownership and governance (Miller, 1994).

Sogo Shosha - A General Trading Company or Corporate CIA?

A sogo shosha, or a general trading company in a keiretsu, plays a critical role in helping coordinate group activities through every aspect of commerce. It is Japan's organizational innovation which was necessitated by the problems it faced in international trade; yet, sogo shosha was the innovation that allowed the postwar Japan to achieve its unprecedented explosive growth. Yoshihara (1982) writes that the sogo shosha is a unique trading company in its role, size and diversity. Yoshino and Lifson (1984) also note that a sogo shosha is like no other type of company since it is not defined by the products it handles or services it performs.

Of more than 6,000 trading companies in Japan, the nine largest and the most diversified ones are considered as sogo shosha. They are Mitsubishi Shoji (Mitsubishi), Mitsui Bussan (Mitsui), Itochu (DKB), Marubeni (Fuyo), Sumitomo Shoji (Sumitomo), Nissho-Iwai (Sanwa), Toyo Menka, Kanematsu Gosho, and Nichimen. As indicated and as expected, six of these nine are affiliated with the Big Six.

Until the mid 1950s, Japan had foreign trading companies called boeki shosha; however, as the foreign trades of keiretsu corporations grew bigger, they needed larger and more comprehensive trading companies. Sogo shosha was the henchman to create a cohesive enterprise group. As the competition in trading business became stiff in recent decades, the number of sogo shosha declined to nine.

As their very high debt ratios (debt-to-equity ratio is often well over 10 times) indicate, sogo shosha companies are getting the bulk of their capital from the main bank in order to create subsidiaries, to launch various resource development projects abroad, and to provide credit to their customers. Thus, the 'mama' bank as usual serves as an umbilical cord for the sogo shosha, too.

As reflected in an old slogan, "from noodles to missiles," a typical sogo shosha undertakes virtually everything; not just trading of a variety of goods but also manufacturing, construction, shipping, leasing, warehousing, travel agency, and brokerage. Also, as in the case of Mitsubishi Shoji helping KFC establish its foothold in Japan, sogo shosha does business in collaboration with foreign companies. Yet, it is not a subsidiary of any particular manufacturing companies. As it absorbs the risk and loss from the default of affiliate companies, sogo shosha effectively serves as a buffer for the main bank (Ballon & Tomita, 1988).

Sogo shosha provides credit for small firms which do not usually have easy access to large city banks. Large city banks, in turn, would not normally be willing to take risks of dealing with thousands of small businesses. Specifically, the sogo shosha acts as an intermediary between a buyer and a seller by accepting a bill from the buyer and issuing its own bill to the seller. The seller can cash the bill at a discounted value from any bank (since it is a bill issued by a big name, creditworthy shosha), while the shosha pays its bill when it comes due and collects payment from the buyer when its bill comes due.

Shacho-kai - A Presidential Council or Fraternity?

Each of the Big Six keiretsu groups has a special assembly of top executives of its key member firms called shacho-kai. For example, the DKB group's shacho-kai holds 48 executives of its key members. Altogether the shacho-kai of the Big Six includes nearly 200 top executives nationwide whose companies' annual total sales exceed $2 trillion. There are usually a number of other group-wide meetings for second- or third-tier managers such as vice presidents and managing directors. However, it is the membership in the shacho-kai that differentiates the inner group of companies from the outer group in the keiretsu. Mazda Motors is close to the Sumitomo group but its president is not on

the shacho-kai, meaning it does not officially belong to the Sumitomo keiretsu.

A frequently asked question about shacho-kai is whether it is a real decision-making organ for the keiretsu or just a social gathering. The answer is elusive because not only is the membership very exclusive but what is discussed in shacho-kai is usually kept secret. Yet, it is rather widely known that the top executives in shacho-kai often talk about their golf scores and some other informal or private matters. However, considering the strong Japanese tendency of discussing matters informally in face-to-face meetings, it is safe to assume that the shacho-kai, if and when necessary, is used for strategic planning, policy formulation, and other decision-making for the keiretsu.

In Japan, intercorporate friendships are often strengthened by marriage, gift exchanges, golf outings, and recreation at bars. Maruyama (1992) states that shacho-kai cultivates group solidarity through such social, fraternal activities as well as serious discussion of group strategies and actions. For the latter, he specifically lists three roles of the shacho-kai: 1) to determine group strategy and plan group actions regarding such important issues as new industry entry, overseas expansion, company mergers, government-related affairs, and relations with other keiretsu groups; 2) to mediate between member firms and settle intragroup conflicts; and 3) to obtain adjudication and approval from the top executives of member firms. Nevertheless, it is highly unlikely that the shacho-kai is used to discuss detailed working-group affairs such as price setting, cartel arrangement, or blocking out foreign competition.

Cross-Shareholding or Cross-Stakeholding?

Ballon and Tomita (1988) argue that when the Japanese government began to liberalize the regulations on foreign capital flow in the late 1960s, thinly capitalized Japanese firms were concerned about possible takeovers by foreign firms. As they experienced GM's takeover bid of Isuzu Motors in 1969, Japanese firms found the solution in 'stable shareholder'- those loyal shareholders who would not sell their shares to any corporate raiders, domestic or foreign.

The idea of stable shareholding is best served when each member firm in a keiretsu is owned by other member firms, i.e., cross shareholding. For example, about twenty percent of the shares of Sumitomo Trust and Banking, a major company in the Sumitomo keiretsu, are owned by ten or so group companies, each holding one to five percent. Sumitomo Trust and Banking, in turn, owns two to eight percent of shares of each of these companies. On average, a typical firm's 20 to 30% ownership is held by other group members. Aoki (1994) labels this interlocking shareholding 'capital keiretsu.'

All keiretsu shareholdings accounted for 48% of all shares outstanding as recently as 1989 (French & Poterba, 1989) and only about 25% of all shares are in the hands of outside investors. As such, the cross ownership within a keiretsu system effectively wards off would-be takeover bids. This makes hostile corporate takeovers and other mergers and acquisitions in Japan practically impossible. It is argued that Japanese management, free from such concerns, can be more long term minded.

Since every member firm has a very real stake in all the group firms, the keiretsu has a system not of mutual dependence but of mutual interest. The cross shareholding is not only the glue that holds the keiretsu together, but it also makes the members mutual stakeholders. Berglof and Perotti (1994) theorize that the crossholdings of equity (and debt) within the keiretsu system is a contingent governance mechanism through which internal discipline is sustained over time.

Interlocking Directorates - Dispatched Directors or Indirectors?

The nucleus firms of the Fuyo Group, one of the Big Six, at one point provided to their member firms 31 chairmen and vice chairmen, 74 presidents and CEO's, 35 vice presidents, 264 senior and managing directors, 319 directors, and 180 auditors. In a similar manner, the top firms in the DKB Group provide about 1,200 executive staff and advisers for their member firms. The total number for the Big Six exceeds 4,000 (Miyashita & Russell, 1994).

Key firms (main bank, sogo shosha, and core manufacturers) in a keiretsu dispatch their executives to the boards of directors of smaller firms in the group. They do this not only as a sign of relationship but also as a sign of commitment. The dispatched executives can provide the smaller firms with much needed managerial experience and expertise. They can also be the channel of information traffic between the companies. Last but not least in the practice of Japanese corporate personnel management, the system is used as an outlet for outplacement of excess managers.

In the Big Six groups, directors are usually dispatched from the main bank, sogo shosha, and other key member firms to other core companies, which in turn send directors down to their own vertical keiretsu members. The main bank plays the most important role by

sending directors for years, sometimes permanently, to sit on the boards of the borrowing companies. The assigned directors, while helping the company, keep the main bank informed of various events and developments surrounding the company: financial performance, customer relationships, new product developments, overseas expansion, technology and R&D issues, marketing strategies, labor issues, or even yakuza threats. Table 1 summarizes the main features of the Big Six horizontal keiretsu groups.

Table 1. The Big Six Horizontal Keiretsu Groups in Japan

	Mitsui	Mitsubishi	Sumitomo	Fuyo	Sanwa	DKB
Established	1961	1954	1951	1966	1967	1978
Zaibatsu Origin	Mitsui	Mitsubishi	Sumitomo	Yasuda	Suzuki	Shibusawa
Main Bank	Sakura	Mitsubishi	Sumitomo	Fuji	Sanwa	DKB
Sogo Shosha	Mitsui Bussan	Mitsubishi Shoji	Sumitomo Shoji	Marubeni	Nissho-Iwai	Itochu Nissho-Iwai
Shacho-kai	Nimoku-kai	Kin'yo-kai	Hakusui-kai	Fuyo-kai	Sansui-kai	Sankin-kai
(Members)	(26)	(29)	(20)	(29)	(44)	(48)
Affiliated Firms	171	217	164	223	247	190
Crossholding	19%	35%	7%	15%	16%	12%
Key Firms	M.Fudosan	M.Heavy Ind.	S.Metal Mining	Yasuda T&B	Toyo T&	Asahi Life
	M.Trust&Bank	M.Trust&Bank	S.Trust&Bank	Y.Fire&M	Fujisawa	NissanF&M
	M.Mutual Life	Meiji Mut. Life	S.Chemical	Y.Mut.Life	Sharp	Fujitsu
	M.Fire&Marine	Tokio Fire&M	S.Marine&Fire	Nichirei	Orix	Shiseido
	Mitsukoshi	M.Electric	S.Life Ins.	Canon	Suntory	Kawasaki
	Toray Ind.	M.Motors	Nippon Sh.Glass	Kubota	Kyocera	Isuzu
	Jpn Steel Wks	Kirin Brewery	(Mazda)	Nissan	Daihatsu	Seibu Dept.
	Toyota	Nikon	S.Heavy Ind.	Sapporo Brew.	Teijin	Sankyo
	Toshiba	Nippon Yusen	NEC	Oki Electric	Nisshin Steel	ShowaShell
	(Sony)	(Honda)	(Matsushita)	Hitachi	Hitachi	Hitachi

Note: Nissho-Iwai sits on the shacho-kai of both Sanwa and DKB groups. Likewise, Hitachi belongs to all 'New Three' groups as it has seats on all three shacho-kai meetings. Mazda, Sony, Honda, and Matsushita are not an official member of the respective keiretsu noted above but they maintain a close relationship with the respective keiretsu.

Source: Miyashita & Russell (1994)

Is It Good, Bad, or Ugly?

As noted above, the keiretsu system is believed to provide certain managerial advantages. They include management security and stability, risk-sharing, productivity enhancement, long-run planning ability, capital availability, and transaction cost reduction. Through cross-subsidization, mutual forbearance, and reciprocal trading, keiretsu can also build conglomerate power (Bernheim & Whinston, 1990; Hill, 1985; Montgomery, 1994).

The 'keiretsufication' of Japanese industries turned out to be more successful than anyone had expected. Gerlach (1992) discusses the key roles played by the keiretsu in the new venture and technological innovation. Reischauer (1988) also states that the solidarity spirit of the keiretsu system is one reason for lower overhead management costs in Japan than in the United States.

In particular, a production or distribution vertical keiretsu can provide a steady flow of business, gives access to market and technical information, controls the cost of raw materials, keeps the product cost low through specialization, and facilitates quality control. It has also proved instrumental in adjusting supply and demand. The American Chamber of Commerce in Japan reports that only eight percent of American businesses operating in Japan find the keiretsu system harmful, while 33% believe that the keiretsu system is a secret to the Japanese business success (Prindle, 1993).

Nakatani (1984) notes that the major benefit of keiretsu membership is large-scale

insurance or security that assures stable corporate performance. Based on a series of his empirical studies, Hoshi (1994) contends that the Japanese corporate grouping and the main bank system are useful in mitigating incentive and informational problems in financial markets and reducing the cost of financial distress. The keiretsu alliance also tends to produce long-standing mutual trust between the management and stockholders which results in a better corporate governance system (Bhide, 1994; Gerlach, 1992). Thus, corporate relational assets are built up on psychological, implicit contracts among keiretsu stakeholders as well as quality, productivity, and R&D, which collectively promote long-term growth, market share increase, and eventually, profits (Wheeler & Sillanpaa, 1997).

Such argument is particularly appealing since the bank-centered cross-shareholding in the keiretsu system not only substantially reduces the agency conflict between shareholders (management) and creditors but also significantly alleviates the information asymmetry between them. The keiretsu system thus artfully evades the problems of suboptimization moral hazard, excessive executive compensation and perk consumption, managerial myopia, and other frictions in corporate management.

Less visible, however, are the tremendous sacrifices Japanese consumers and a myriad of small businesses have to make. The system tends to produce unfavorable consequences such as barriers to entry, long and inefficient distributional channels, unfairness, collusion, and the resultant inefficient resource allocation in the economy. Because of the entrenched practice of cross-shareholding and main banking, Japan's equity and debt markets remain relatively inefficient (Miller, 1994). Besides, the inherent group exclusivity in the keiretsu system also breeds strong favoritism and nepotism among insiders, which, together with the deeply rooted tradition of lifetime employment and seniority system, entails complacency, rigidity, and creativity-deficiency.

These inefficiencies in the end make consumers suffer, although they may be compensated by the keiretsu system in the form of lifetime employment, security and stability, and other fringe non-pecuniary benefits. Prindle (1993) argues that the keiretsu deprives its affiliates of independence. She parallels the maker-supplier relationship in a vertical keiretsu with nineteenth-century Japan's colonialism. As the supplier firms at each level have to sacrifice short-term gains for long term security and stability, she argues, the core companies reap benefits on other companies' backs. Yet, Nakatani's empirical study (1984) reveals that even the members of the big horizontal keiretsu did not produce higher profits than independent firms.

Will It Survive or Will It Be Just Like Cherry Blossoms?

In the meantime, after experiencing a slow economic growth during the 1980s, Japan entered its worst recession since the oil crisis in the 1970s as its bubble economy burst in the early 1990s. In fiscal 1993, Japan recorded its first ever year of zero economic growth and in June 1993 the forever-ruling Liberal Democratic Party fell from office only to regain its power in a later election. After the scandal of summer 1997 surrounding such large keiretsu firms as DKB and Nomura Securities resulted in indictment of no less than ten bank executives, recent episodes of corporate failure included the giant Yamaichi Securities.

Such unfavorable developments have prompted discussions and debates as to whether or not the traditional pillars that had long supported the Japanese society and economy should be reexamined, repaired, reconstructed, or even replaced. Some of the socio-economic elements in question are growth-oriented strategies, seniority systems, lifetime employment, enterprise-based unionism, non-specialized career paths, reciprocal obligations, and consensus decision-making processes.

What about the keiretsu system? Is the recent prolonged decline in the Japanese economy a sign that the system is not as efficient as we have been led to believe? Or was Reischauer (1988) right arguing that the keiretsu-led Japanese economy is not likely to change rapidly and the keiretsu will remain for a long time because its origin is more sociological and psychological than economic? Or is Japan's keiretsu just like its national flowers, cherry blossoms, that bloom and prosper grandiosely in their time yet fade away rapidly?

Hoshi (1994) argues that although the bank-firm relations weakened following the deregulations in the Japanese bond markets (particularly for those firms with large amounts of collateral and high profitability), the keiretsu will not completely break down. Such argument is apparently based on the explicit tendency of stakeholderism in Japan. As the corporation is viewed as a coherent organization pursuing the co prosperity of various corporate stakeholders, ardently pursued are its long-term, sound relationships with employees, suppliers, banks, shareholders, communities, and other interest

parties. Keiretsu may well survive as it continuously functions as a balancer for such interest groups

It can be also argued that the keiretsu system will survive because it is essentially the reflection of the long tradition of the family-based Japanese society which is characterized by such strong traits as Confucian filial piety, community-consciousness, organizational unity and stability, homogeneity and conformity, and group-oriented generalism and uniformity. Recent managerial moves by such large firms as Toyota, Sony, and Matsushita indicate that generational succession continues in Japan, Inc.

Although today most of the group member firms are giant, strong companies that can stand alone in their respective industry, they still maintain their membership in big horizontal keiretsu groups. That is probably because the advantages are still very real and outweigh any disadvantages. The horizontal groups will probably continue to exist, although the members' freedom to do business with outsiders will grow. Miyashita and Russell (1994) argue that this will ultimately strengthen rather than weaken the keiretsu.

Nevertheless, there is an apparent sign that the keiretsu solidarity, particularly in production and distribution groups, is weakening in today's Japan. Huh and Kim (1993) argue that the keiretsu ties are loosening as the deepening and internationalization of financial markets have eroded the role of main banks. Also, assembling factories are being relocated abroad and many subcontractors are coming into the keiretsu system from outside. Thus, the vertical keiretsu system is rapidly changing. It becomes increasingly hard for the manufacturer at the top to maintain loyalty of group suppliers. The distribution keiretsu is also weakening particularly through the attrition of members.

As a recent government report stresses, the long sought-after quantitative expansion and market share increases are no longer considered desirable and firms are now more profit-conscious (Tatsuhito, 1995). In his comparative analysis on free enterprise versus keiretsu, Gerlach (1992) contrasts competition with cooperation in contemporary business environment and implies that the solution is at neither extreme.

Ogawa's recent report (1997) indicates that the Japanese government now looks to promoting non-keiretsu corporate sectors by fostering business of small and mid-sized companies (with less than 300 workers) which account for more than 99% of Japan's over 6.5 million business establishments. As the keiretsu is increasingly viewed as a system of control rather than assistance, more people now believe that it stifles creativity. In 1995, the Japanese government introduced legislation that promotes creative activities of small and medium firms most of which do not belong to a keiretsu.

If and when the keiretsu system in Japan gives way to another (perhaps Anglo-American style) business paradigm, then the whole Japanese socio-economic structure will have to change. Already the long tradition of lifetime employment, seniority, and group exclusivity is beginning to crumble, albeit at a slow pace. Many people are predicting that the management-labor honeymoon will soon be over and hostile takeovers, aggressive M&A's, and other mud wrestling-type business practices will be on the rise.

Japan is now going through its version of 'Big Bang' for the reformation of its banking sector. In this context, it is notable that Sanwa Bank refused MOF's recent request of bailing out the ailing Sanyo Securities and let it fold. We will certainly see more of such 'non-Japan like' corporate action in the future.

Perhaps, the keiretsu system is intrinsically neither good nor bad. It may be natural outgrowth of the Japanese way of doing business. If so, it is probably safe to say that the keiretsu will not disappear any time soon. However, it will continue to change and evolve as the elements that support the system do. Japan, Inc. may soon, if it has not already, come to a turning point.

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The Peopling of Early Japan

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> Zippangu is an island in the eastern ocean, situated at the distance of about fifteen hundred miles from the mainland.... It is of considerable size; its inhabitants have fair complexions, are well made, and are civilized in their manners. Their religion is the worship of idols.... It is customary with one part of the inhabitants to bury their dead, and with the another part to burn them. The former have a practice of putting one of those pearls into the mouth of the corpse (Miller, 1967, p. 2).

Marco Polo mentioned two ethnic groups in Zinpangu from a Genoa prison cell in 1298 (Miller, 1967). The Ainu and the 'modern Japanese' are their descendents, but who were their ancestors? Who were the first Japanese? Although Franck and Brownstone (1984) assert that the Japanese are found in the Bible trading with Solomon, the first mention of Japan occurs in Han shu, written in the first century of the common era. A more complete written record of Japan appears in Wei chih (Account of the Three Kingdoms), a Chinese work about Korea composed around 292. This account also described a people divided into one hundred 'countries,' all respecting the law and enjoying intoxicating beverages. Thirty of these 'countries' had diplomatic relations with China. These facts suggest that, at the dawn of the fourth century, Japan was not the 'uniform' nation it is today (Morton, 1994; Hall, 1970). This paper examines the linkage of myth and modern science in the peopling of Japan by using anthropological, historical, linguistic and genetic methods.

Identity: The Land of *Wa*

Wo-go ('Dwarf' + 'Land') is the name for Japan used in Wei chih. The journey from Wo-go to Zinpangu traversed the gap between literacy and non-literacy. The Yamato were non-literate when China first called their land Wo-go. The Chinese scribe Wani taught the Yamato royalty to read and write in Chinese in 405 C.E. Scholarly Japanese in this period developed a written form of Japanese using Chinese characters. They also challenged the designation, 'Land of Dwarfs.' According to Ou yang Hsiu (1007-1072), 'Japanese who had studied Chinese came to dislike the name Wo and changed it to Jih-pen' around 670--almost four centuries after the writng of Wei chih (Cited in Miller, 1967, p. 11). In Hsin Tiang Shu (New History of the T'ang), he wrote that Japanese envoys suggested the change to China with the rationale that the country was close to where the sun rises. The Chinese court agreed to the suggestion and, from the T'ang period on, Wo no longer appears in Chinese accounts of Japan. They used Jih-pen or Nippon instead. Nippon is a Japanese word derived from Middle Chinese nziet puen, meaning 'the root, origin of the sun.' This is the origin of Marco Polo's Zipangu. The final element gu is from the Chinese kuo 'country or land.' Wo-go, the Land of the Dwarfs, had become Jih pen-gu, the Land where the Sun Rises. Eventually, Zipangu gave us Japan. Myth and history had converged in the term Jih-pen-gu and heralded the entry of a written Japanese worldview.

Ironically, borrowing China's writing system to express their native tongue had made this writing possible. All Japanese words are formed using about 120 syllables, and context is essential in distinguishing words that are pronounced the same, yet have different meanings. In contrast, Chinese has almost fourteen times as many audible options to express the same vocabulary. This difference led to a dramatic difference in the meaning of the word wo in the two languages. Around the middle of the T'ang period, wo became wa in Japanese. Wa was derived from the Middle Chinese yua meaning 'harmonious, peaceful.' In Japanese, Wa-go literally read 'big + peace,' i.e., harmony (Miller, 1967; Tohsaku, 1996).

Susumu (1970) notes that in Old Japanese Wa-go was pronounced Yamato or Yamatoo. Both Wa-go and Yamato would be written using the identical Chinese characters, but would be read or pronounced differently in Japanese. In Japanese, most Chinese characters have two readings: kun readings that have Japanese pronunciations, and on readings that

have Chinese pronunciations (Hadamitzky, & Spahn, 1993). Wa read Yamato allowed both the Chinese and Japanese to live in harmony, 'the big peace.' In kun reading, yama means 'mountain' while Too can mean both 'east' and 'island'; i.e., 'mountainous islands in/to the east' (pp. 34, 71, 286, 1253).

Ainu Possibilities

Yamato could also mean 'the mountain that throws up;' i.e., a volcano (Hadamitzky, & Spahn, 1993 , pp. 20, 1253). An Ainu creation myth tells that when the world was freshly made, it was burning beneath and unstable. The Ainu could not leave their homes to get food without scorching their feet. Located at the collision point of three tectonic plates, Japan has 40 active volcanoes and 148 inactive ones, including Mount Fuji. Fuji is probably derived from Huchi or Fuchi, the Ainu Goddess of Fire. There is a legend that Mount Fuji was formed during an earthquake in 286 B.C.E. This date corresponds to the first years of the Yayoi rice culture in Japan and the reign of Jimmu Tennu, the Yamato ruler who founded the Japanese nation, according to legend. Yamato might have signaled the 'harmony' he achieved with conquered Ainu tribes generations before Jih-pen gu symbolized 'harmony' with China. Mount Fuji was both a Yamato altar to the Sun Goddess and sacred to the Ainu Fire Goddess. The Yamato Fire God had been slain in the Kojiki, his blood gushing like lava onto massed rocks, giving birth to three new gods (Chamberlain, 1887; de Blij, & Muller, 1994; Japan, Profile of a nation, 1994; Pigott, 1982; Davis, 1992; Sioris, 1987).

The Yamato

Yamato is the oldest recorded name used by the Japanese for themselves. Some Japanese myths suggest that mountains were divine and that the five clan leaders who came with the Sun Goddess from the East descended onto a mountain top. Indeed, Yamato was the name of a place in central Wa-go were the ruler of the Japanese lived (Pigott, 1982; Yamashita, 1996).

One interpretation of Yamato is 'mountain home of Korean warlords.' Did Korean warlords conquer the center of the rice culture already existing in Japan before their arrival? Wei chih implies that Japan was an appendage of Korea (Morton, 1994), and the geopolitical nuances of too in Yama-too are in Table 1 (Hadamitzky & Spahn, 1993).

Table 1: Geopolitical Nuances

Meanings of too	Nuances
govern, control	the seat of government
payment of taxes	the place where you pay taxes
class, grade	the place of the upper classes
T'ang, China	mountains east of China; the government of the T'ang dynasty
sword, fighter	seat of government of the warlords; seat of government of the warlords who descended from the mountain top
kara (kun word for Korea)	seat of government of the Korean people who descended from the mountain top
rice	center of the Yayoi rice culture, circa 300 B.C.E. to 350.

Kovell (1982) also claims that Jimmu Tennu, Japan's first emperor, was actually of the Korean Puyo tribe. He argues that the mound culture found in Japan and the symbols or Yamato authority originated in Korea. Artifacts indicate that 300-200 B.C.E. witnessed a new Korean presence in Japan (Morton, 1994). Legends are equally provocative. Jimmu descended from the Sun Goddess; the sacred ancestor of the Puyo descended from the sun and the daughter of the dragon king of a western river (Jinsu Son, 1997). The Kojiki tells us that, after a dream in which a bear appears, Jimmu and his men are saved from poisonous vapors by the Sun Goddess (Cited in Longford, 1973). Tangun, founder of the Choson, Korea's first state, married a bear who had turned into a beautiful woman after shunning the sun for one hundred days (Lee, 1997).

A Silla (Korean) Kingdom legend holds that in 158 C. E., a rock carried Yono and his wife Seo to Japan where Yono became Japan's king. Because their spirits were gone, the sun and the moon stopped shining in Silla until Yono sent an offering of silk that was placed in the queen's storehouse by the Silla king. The place

where the king made his offering was named 'Welcoming the Sun.' The second century date of the Yono legend corresponds to archeological evidence of the beginnings of the Yamato state (Lee, 1997).

Whatever the ancestry, Jih-pen-gu asserted a national identity for this nation of islands. To the world, Japan was The Land of the Rising Sun. For the Japanese themselves, Jih-pen-gu was Yamato, the Land of Harmony. Imported Confucian and Buddhist values reinforced this emphasis on the group before the individual and a desire for a uniform culture. In words from The Book of Lord Shang, a Ch'in dynasty text:

> A state where uniformity of purpose has been established for ten years will be strong for a hundred years; for a hundred years, it will be strong for a thousand years.... The things which people desire are innumerable, but that from which they benefit is one and the same. Unless the people are made one, there is no way to make them attain their desire. Therefore, they are unified, and their strength is consolidated.... (cited in Murphey,1994, p.54).

Yamato Histories and Monsoon Asia

The Yamato wrote two histories in the eighth century. Oral tradition credits a woman with taking a lifetime to write the oldest one, Kojiki (Record of Ancient Matters, 712 C. E.). It was written in Old Japanese, using Chinese characters. Eight years later Nihongi or Nihon Shoki (History of Japan) was written in Chinese. Both contain the following: "Between Heaven and Earth a thing sprang up like a reed shoot which became transformed into a God" (Longford, 1973, p. 11). These words refer to the creation of the islands of Japan. Do they also offer a clue to the earthy origins of the Yamato?

The Lotus. In the form of a lotus, the image of life springing from primeval waters and being transformed into a deity, officially comes with Buddhism into Japan via Korea in 552. Images of the Buddha frequently show him sitting on a lotus blossom or emerging as a shooting flame from the center of a lotus. Buddhism became the official religion of Japan in 595 (Morton, 1994; Murphey, 1996).

Incorporating lotus imagery into the official story of the creation of Japan might have been part of an effort to use Buddhism as a means to national development, circa 668. It might also have been a part of the explosion of Buddhist content into Japanese art and architecture, again via Korean influence. The new state capital built at Nara in 710 (two years before the completion of Kojiki), faced Korea. The Kundara Kwannon sculpture of the Chinese Buddhist bodhisattva of mercy was named after Kundara, the Japanese name for the Korean kingdom of Paeche. Second-century dotaku bells used to protect rice fields from evil spirits suggests that Zhou Chinese immigrants were a possibly pre-Korean Buddhist influence in Japan. Additionally, Kojiki and Nihongi have multiple occurrences of the numbers eight and eighty--both numbers associated with Buddha and with the lotus (Hall,1970; Batterberry, 1968).

Lotus imagery, however, is also common in non-Buddhist Monsoon Asia --the world east of Afghanistan and south of the former Soviet Union, stretching as far as Japan in the north and Indonesia in the south. A waterlily, the lotus roots in mud (Earth), rises through the water, releases its fragrance into the air, and opens to the fire of the sun. It bears bud, bloom and seed together. It is a symbol of Self-generating Life. Similar to an older Egyptian myth, the Hindu Golden Lotus predated creation, gave birth to the sun, and was identified with a female deity. The lotus spread from India northeast to the China Sea and southeast to Java (Gibson, 1996; Walker, 1988, 1996).

Southeast Asia

It is not unreasonable to assume that Southeast Asian immigrants or trading partners might have brought traditions and cultural practices with them to Japan, long before Buddhism spread to Korea from China in 372. For instance, both Hinduism and Mahayana (the form of Buddhism practiced in Japan) existed in second-century Cambodia. Moreover, Indonesia has the greatest number of myths and folktales paralleling those of Japan and other Southeast Asian peoples, and Siberians have myths similar to those found in Kojiki (de Blij, 1993; Susumu,1970). What levels of cultural exchange existed between Japan and the entirety of SoutheastAsia?

Southeast Asians influenced China, Korea and probably Japan long before the dawning of civilization in China (around 1500 B.C.E.), or possibly as early as the rising sea levels that isolated Japan from its neighbors (circa 10,000 B.C.E.). Fourteen thousand years ago, Southeast Asians domesticated plant and animal life, possibly among the first humans to do so. Thailand and Vietnam first cultivated rice, taro, yams, ducks, geese, water buffalo, chickens and pigs. From there agriculture and animal

husbandry spread northward to China, Korea and Japan; southward to Malaysia and Indonesia; and westward to India, Mesopotamia and Europe. Trade routes clearly followed.

Southeast Asians developed many trade routes. Malay-speaking Javanese traders seem to have reached east Africa around 200 B.C.E. Malay was a lingua franca of trade and its impact is found as far east as Hawaii and as far north as Japan. Around 200 B.C.E., Korea, China and Japan began the exchange of silkworms. Silk entwined in the hair of mummies suggests a trade route connecting Egypt with a Silk Road a millenium earlier. First century Chinese and Southeast Asians also traded with Persia and Rome. Global traders with a legacy of agricultural development and exchange, southeast Asians influenced all of Monsoon Asia, and that would include Japan. Still, they lacked urban development until the third century B.C.E. and did not develop towns until the fifth century C.E., under the influence of India. Like its Southeast Asian counterparts, the Yamato's largest grouping of people never exceeded the size of a village with simple wood-thatched-grass architecture. Japan reflected a regional cultural pattern (Cavalli-Sforza, Menozzi, & Piazza, 1994; de Blij, 1993; Longford, 1973; Murphey, 1964).

West Japan and Southeast Asia had similar family bonds during the Yayoi period. Husbands went to live with the family of the bride, and her mother controlled the marriage. Brother and sister born of the same mother, but different fathers could not marry while brother and sister born of different mothers, but the same father, could marry. Nephews could marry aunts, and sons could marry their fathers' widows. Clans had both male and female leadership patterns and graded society based on age. These characteristics repeated what was prevalent in Okinawa, Taiwan, Assam (India), New Guinea, Micronesia, Indonesia and other Southeast Asia cultures. The Yamato also practiced polygamy with wives and concubines having equal status; their children too had equal standing in the clans (Longford, 1973).

Prior to the arrival of the Yayoi, Eastern Japan appears culturally related to northern Asia, but western Japan appears related to northern Vietnam, Thailand, Malay, Sumatra and Indonesia. Missing canine teeth in adult skulls suggest teeth extraction that was common in Taiwan, southern China, Vietnam, Polynesia, Australia and parts of Africa. Tatooing the entire body and tooth dyeing also seem to have a southern origin (Susumu, 1970).

The Yamato lost fifty percent of their population through 'pestilence' during the reign of Sujin, Japan's first 'historical' emperor (Longford, 1973, pp. 28-34). This loss, the clan system, and the practice of polygamy with equality between the offspring of the father, made ripe the potential for blurring past ethnic differences. Clans were lineage groups related by real or fictional blood ties to a common progenitor. This commentator believes that a 'common progenitor' was in fact an amalgam of different waves of Korean immigrants, some of whom had sexual alliances as wives or mistresses with the other peoples among whom they were a minority. They established counties (koper in Korean, koperi in Japanese), collected taxes (pat in Korean, pataru in Japanese), and built shrines on the mountains were their gods descended (mori in both Korean and Old Japanese) (Hall, 1970; Susumu, 1970).

The Progenitors

In Kojiki, Izanami married Izanagi and gave birth to the eight islands of Japan and many other deities, including the Sun Goddess, Amaterasu. In Nihongi, Izanagi produced Amaterasu by washing his left eye. Her grandson, Ninigi-no-mikoto, descended from the Celestial Plains onto a mountain top in Kyushu at a place named Himukai ('facing the sun'). She gave him the emblems of royal authority: the Sword, the Mirror and the Jewels. He and his retinue migrated eastward along the Inland Sea towards central Honshu, which was not reached and named Yamato until two generations later by Jimmu Tennu. Ninigi and Jimmu both fought the people who already were inhabiting the islands (Pigott, 1982; Sioris, 1987).

This is a classic example of political legitimacy through a grandmother as frequently found in matrilineal cultures, or in clans that blend patriarchal and matriarchal bloodlines. Amaterasu's conflict with her brother, Susanoo, the Storm God, may be seen as the conflict between two ethnic groups. It is telling that, not only was he banished, but he was said to have planted forests on the coast of Korea. Heavily bearded, Piggott identifies him with the Ainu (Batterberry, 1968; Stanley-Baker, 1984).

Korea. The birth of Amaterasu, the Sun Goddess, from Izanagi's left eye corresponds to the Chinese legend of the sun being born from Pan-ki's left eye. This suggests a Korean source, i.e., Chinese influence without pejorative Chinese values about women. For instance, the Han court gave the name Nu to the Japanese homeland of an envoy sent to pay homage in 57 C.E. (Blumenberg, B., 1994/1996). Nu is the Chinese character for 'woman.' In ancient times, she was drawn bowing in a deferential position; later, on her knees. A Chinese proverb reads,

'man is head of the family and woman is the neck that moves the head as and when it wants' (quoted in Fazzioli, 1987, p. 26).

Women in the Yamato court, however, could be empresses, and others played key roles. The imperial regalia--the Mirror, the Sword, the Jewels--were in the charge of a virgin daughter of the emperor until the Princess Yamato build a shrine in Ise for the sword and the mirror, after Amaterasu told her: 'this is a pleasant and secluded land in which I wish to dwell' (Longford, 1973). Every twenty years the shrine is torn down and rebuilt anew in its original form. Ise is still the most sacred shrine to Amaterasu in Shinto (a Chinese word meaning 'the way of the Gods'). It stretches southward toward Kyushu, the place where Ninigi might have arrived from Korea (Murphey, 1996; Stokstad, 1995).

Two centuries after Princess Yamato built the shrine at Ise, Empress Jingo conquered parts of Korean, gaining promises from the kings of the Three Kingdoms to 'pay homage and send tribute until the sun no longer rises in the East' (Cited in Pigott, 1982, p. 22). She was armed with the Tide Ebbing and the Tide Flowing Jewels of the Sea. Her son became the Emperor Ojin, one of Covell's alleged 'Puyo- Korean' emperors. Her successes led to a major infusion of Korean and Chinese culture into Japan, including the introduction of Chinese characters into Japan (285).

One of Jimmu's brothers crossed to the 'Eternal Land;' another went into the 'Sea Plain.' The 'Eternal Land' sometimes referred to as Kara, the kun word for Korea. The 'Sea Plain' is probably a location in Southeast Asia (Longford, 1973; Covell, 1982). The myth of the gods Ho-ori and his brother Hoderi illustrates this point.

Ho-ori, the mountain hunter, borrowed and lost Hoderi's fishing hook. In searching for it, he is given an 'eightfold cushion'; marries the daughter of the Sea God; finds the hook with the Sea God's help; and learns how to make his brother obey him. The Sea God's daughter turns into a crocodile/dragon, gives birth to a child, and returns to the sea. Jimmu Tennu was her grandchild. His father married his own aunt. Ho-ori, the hunter-gatherer from the mountains, becomes the ancestor of all emperors; Hoderi, the fisherman, the ancestor of immigrants from the south. A similar tale exists in Indonesia (Chamberlain, 1887; Sioris, 1987; 'The palace under', 1997; Davis, 1992). Importantly, the myth establishes clan connections (brothers) of separate ethnic groups while legitimizing which group would be the ruling uji ("class").

A Chinese Myth. The 'Isle of Women' myth from China has two different sources for sea winds that impregnated women, women who would murder men who were stranded on the beach. The Japanese say a south wind, while the Ainu version say an east wind. In a third version from a southern island, the women place sandals on the beach with the heals facing the sea. A fisherman who puts on the sandals would become a short-lived husband of the woman who owned the sandals. The three versions suggest immigrants who arrived from a variety of places and times, but combined into a composite people with cultural traits of Korea, Southeast Asia and South China (Chamberlain, 1987). This is hinted at in another legend in which Sunjin named a son by a concubine to be his successor over an older brother, the son of the empress. The older son 'turning towards the east... flourished a pear eight times, and eight times dealt blows with a sword' (Longford, 1973). The younger son turned in all four directions. Sujin interpreted these actions to mean that the older son was a subordinate and the younger son his successor. Note the number eight and the direction east were identified above with Southeast Asia. Note also that east was identified with Ainu ancestors in their version of the Isle of Women myth. This leaves the door wide open for speculation about the ethnic background of both the concubine and the empress and, for that matter, the entire royal clan.

The Ainu. The Ainu both intermarried and remained separate from the Yamato. Although they came to Japan before the Yamato, the Japanese-influenced myth of their origin states that a Japanese girl mated with a large white dog in the form of a man. After their child was born with a tail, the man admitted he was a dog. The child's tail was cut off. He became the first Ainu (Chamberlain, 1887). The Ainu gave that name to themselves and their land: the word means 'man' or 'human.' The Yamato called them Yezo (barbarians). Ainu, however, is similar in sound to the Japanese words for 'dog' (inu) and for half-caste (ainoko).

Genetics

Modern Ainu have a non-Ainu genetic make-up of forty percent, based on the last three-to-four generations of 'purity.' Contrary to popular belief, dental morphology and fingerprint evidence show them to be Mongoloid and not Caucasian. Their smallest genetic difference is with the Hokkaido Japanese, then with the Ryukyu archipelago, including Okinawa. Ironically, Hokkaido Japanese cluster genetically most closely with Koreans; Japanese from the Yamato Plains and Kyushu cluster fairly closely with Koreans. The shortest genetic difference is from Tungus, Japanese and Koreans. DNA samples

from the Jomon people (10,000 years ago to about 250 B.C.E.) match DNA in modern Ainu (Cavalli-Sforza et al.,1994; Travis, 1997). The genetic make-up of the Ainu stretch from the most southern, to the most northern point in modern Japan and is linked with the eta (the outcastes of Japan), all Japanese, Koreans and Northeast Asians.

Regarding these linkages, Japanese and Koreans separate from all others in genetic mapping; South Chinese are closer to Southeast Asians than to Northeast Asians. Specifically, Y chromosome markers suggest that Koreans migrated into central Japan and spread toward both the north and south during the Yayoi period. YAP-positive chromosomes also suggest that Northeast Asians migrated to South China, and from there migrated to Japan. These relationships support the inferences drawn from mythology: the Ainu came from non-Korean Asia; they lived from Okinawa to Hokkaido; they fought and/or intermarried with immigrants from the three Kingdoms of Korea. We infer also that the Ainu or Jomon overlapped culturally with the Hoabinhian culture (11,000 to 2,000 B.C.E.) that linked Monsoon Asia from northeastern Sumatra, through all of Southeast Asia, to southern China as far north as the Yangtze River (Cavalli-Sforza et al., 1994).

Counting

Counting from 1 to 10 demonstrates how interrelated the groups became. The Ainu word for 5 and for 'hand' are the same or derivatives. The same is true in Taiwan, Indonesia and Polynesia. The archaic form of both words are related in Old Japanese, too. On the otherhand, the word for the Ainu numeral 10 is a form of 'both hands,' indicating that two hands were used to count to 10. Pre-modern Koreans counted to 10 by first closing one finger after another, with a closed fist being 5, then reversing the process to reach 10. The Japanese numeral 10 (too) may stem from the word meaning 'to bend,' i.e., indicating a one-hand counting system. The numeral 4 in both Ainu and Japanese are related to words meaning 'many.' In both languages numerals are changed to indicate animals and things. (Susumu, 1970).

Jamon and Yayoi

So, Jamon is to Ainu as Yayoi is to Japanese. Murphey (1996) calls the Yayoi 'provincial Koreans or Korean cousins.' Their burial mounds or tombs (kofun), weapons, helmets and armor show strong similarities with those in Korea. The oldest tombs and sites are on the Yamato Plains, although they are found as far south as Kyushu and as far north as Toohoku. The center of Kofun culture was between Kyoto and Osaka and became known as Yamato (Stanley-Baker, 1984). The burial mounds of Kofun culture and horseback riding are found across the Central Asia Steppes, dating as far back as 2,500 B.C.E. Nomadic Altaic-language speakers spread the culture across Asia and into Korea as the population exploded in the fourth century B.C.E. By the sixth century, the Kofun period was found in Japan. The Yayoi and the Jamon become the Yamato and the Ainu, the ancestors of the modern Japanese (Cavalli-Sforza et al., 1994).

The Soul of the Mirror

The Yayoi were named after a site on the Yamato Plains were the first archeological finds were discovered. In ancient times, 'yayoi' was the third day of the third month, the Month of Increase. One myth gives the name Yayoi to a woman whose soul is trapped in a mirror. Her soul is released when the mirror is returned to the imperial family (Davis, 1992). Her soul in the mirror reflected the Divine Mirror in Ise, the pure and loving soul of Amaterasu, the Sun Goddess. The Mirror of the Soul of Japan today reflects a single image, a uniform people.

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A Texan at the Meiji Court: Richard Bennet Hubbard's Embassy to Japan, 1885-1889

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Set in the sunbaked red clay of Tyler's old Oakwood Cemetery stands a weathered marble marker whose faded inscription reads

> Sacred to the memory of Mrs. Janie R. Hubbard. The Beloved wife of Richard B. Hubbard, Who departed this Life at Nikko, Japan, on the 9th of July A. D. 1887, And in the 39th Year of her age. Her remains borne by Hands from across the sea now rest in her Native Land-- And by the side of Her Children who passed away before Her to the Saints Everlasting Rest.

What was this woman doing in Japan, so remote and exotic in 1887--and why did she come to rest in Tyler, Texas? The visitor who explores the Hubbard family plot will find the answer on her husband's monument and historical marker. Janie Roberts Hubbard's journey from her home town to Japan is part of the story of her husband's mission as Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of the United States to the Empire of Japan.

In Richard Bennet Hubbard's (1832-1901) life and times one encounters not only the westward movement, the debate over slavery, the tragedy and violence of the Civil War and Reconstruction in Texas, but also the wrenching changes his Japanese contemporaries experienced soon after the ominous "Black Ships" of the United States Navy dropped anchor at Uraga Bay in 1853, the year the Hubbards settled in Tyler. While Hubbard was settling into Tyler, Japan was transforming itself from an isolated feudal society to a rapidly modernizing postulant seeking admission to the consortium of global political and economic powers.

Hubbard was born in Walton County, Georgia. He graduated from Mercer Institute and received a law degree from Harvard University in 1853, the year he and his family migrated to East Texas. The elder Hubbards and their slaves established a large cotton plantation north of Tyler, while young Richard opened a law office in the village. There he gravitated to local and state politics, and in 1859 he became the youngest member of the state legislature, where he gained a reputation as a polished orator, vociferous proponent of slavery and advocate of secession (Duncan, 1972).

Although he organized and commanded the Twenty-Second Texas Regiment of Cavalry, Colonel Hubbard saw little action in the Civil War. He returned to Tyler to practice law and dabble in the railroad business. He was elected Lieutenant Governor in 1873 and 1876, and when Governor Richard Coke resigned to become a United States Senator, he succeeded to the governorship.

Although popular as an outspoken opponent of black suffrage (Glover & Cross, 1976) he was denied the Democratic Party nomination for governor. He remained active in the national Democratic Party and his ardent campaign for Glover Cleveland's 1884 election bid secured his appointment to Tokyo. Posting a small town lawyer and rather ineffective one-term state governor to an emerging Pacific power was not a mistake; he proved to be an adept champion of an enlightened American policy towards Japan.

Hubbard's inexperience was mirrored by the Japanese. They had shut out foreigners for two centuries and were unprepared for the shock of the western intrusion (Reischauer, 1988). They were accustomed to the elaborate internal controls which had fostered peace and stability; and their homogeneous society was characterized by a sense of unity, Confucian orthodoxy, widespread education, limited natural resources, little migration and social stability. The Americans, on the other hand, were a new people who had recently weathered violent sectional, racial and economic conflicts. Flush with abundant natural resources and a sense of

Manifest Destiny, they looked with boundless optimism to a changing future (Iriye, 1974).

Commodore Matthew Perry, the American who opened Japan, saw "a weak and semi-barbarous people" who were "deceitful" and "vindictive." His decision to overawe the Shogunal government with massive force (Neumann, 1963) set the tone for subsequent American and European dealings with the demoralized Japanese. Soon after United States Envoy Townsend Harris concluded a treaty of "Amity and Commerce" (aboard the warship Powhatan!) on 28 July 1858 (Jones, 1931, p. 18), fifteen western powers (the "Treaty Powers") concluded similar treaties.

These "Unequal Treaties" or "Ansei Treaties" were modeled after those concluded with China. The Japanese opened specified ports to European trade and residence, and agreed to exchange diplomatic and consular officials. They conceded extraterritoriality in civil and criminal cases and granted the Treaty Powers control of import and export duties. The Treaty Powers did not reciprocate and all enjoyed "most favored nation" status.

The treaties were an important issue in the overthrow of the Bakufu, or Shogunal government, in the Meiji Restoration of 3 January 1868. The story of Meiji "westernization" might be told in terms of the determination "not to be second" among the western nations (Hall, 1970, p. 300). The Ansei Treaties were a national humiliation, yet they inspired a volte-face from rejecting modernization to avidly embracing it. Once the reformers touted westernization to persuade the Treaty Powers that Japan was "civilized" it became an instrument of treaty revision (Dulles, 1965, pp. 152-53).

With social and political change motivated by the drive for international equality (Dusenbury, 1983), Japan's modernization became the means rather than the end (Hackett, 1974). Once the Emperor Meiji's edict of 1868 both approved the Ansei Treaties--concluded by the now defunct Bakufu--and called for their amendment, the end was clear. Treaty revision became the nexus of Japanese attitudes toward the West (Sansom, 1970).

The showpiece of Japanese westernization was the Rokumeikan, a lavish Italianate pavilion where Hubbard could observe western attired Japanese officials and their wives, dancing, enjoying western style music, playing billiards or simply engaging in polite patter with the diplomatic community. Once treaty revision appeared impossible, the building was sold (1889) and the "Romumekian era" of demonstrable westernization linked to treaty revision was over (Fewster & Gorton, 1987).

The treaties were subject to revision after 1872 and the long campaign to achieve equal standing with the western powers began immediately. The major irritant was extraterritoriality. The Treaty Powers did not require it of each other, and the Japanese considered it an insult to national sovereignty and a not so subtle implication of racial inferiority (Jones, 1931). In December of 1871, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Prince Tomomi Iwakura, led a diplomatic mission to the United States and Europe to personally sound out the Treaty Powers on revision.

Secretary of State Hamilton Fish told Iwakura he would trade extraterritoriality for a western style legal code and courts, if Japan would open all ports and the interior to foreigners. Iwakura was not authorized to conclude a treaty, and departed for Europe, where he quickly learned that the Europeans were unwilling even to talk of revision (Neumann, 1963).

Treaty revision remained a major diplomatic objective and a divisive issue in Japanese domestic politics (Neu, 1975). Since the United States seemed inclined to revision, relations with Japan were amicable in the decade prior to Hubbard's arrival (Nitobe, 1912). John Armor Bingham, Hubbard's predecessor, was an outspoken admirer of Japan's progress and opponent of the unequal treaty system. He resisted his instructions to follow the other powers and advocated an independent American policy (Neu). In 1878 he concluded a Tariff Convention that restored tariff autonomy to Japan, but the convention was never implemented. It contained a "Joker Clause" that stipulated that it would not take effect until all the other Treaty Powers agreed to its terms (Iriye, 1974). Treaty revision was at issue when Hubbard arrived in Tokyo, and Bingham urged him to support Japanese objectives (Treat, 1932).

Before he left for Japan, Hubbard visited Ulysses S. Grant, who had taken an around the world trip and spent six weeks in Japan during the summer of 1879. He was the most distinguished American to visit Japan, and the former president received a lavish welcome. When the Emperor Meiji made an unprecedented personal call, Grant urged the Emperor to remain aloof of Europeans (Dulles, 1965). He told the Emperor he had "seen things that make my blood boil in the way the European powers attempt to degrade the Asiatic nations" and was worried that Japan, like China, would be carved

up by the imperialists (Neumann, 1963, p. 51). When Hubbard visited the aging statesman at his New York home late in 1884 (Turner, 1979), he extolled the virtues of the Japanese and recounted his reception and impressions of 1879. Hubbard was moved. He saw Grant as a valiant fellow warrior and he imbibed his pro-Japanese views (Hubbard, 1899).

Hubbard's early dispatches convey his personal conviction that the unequal treaties should be revised (Duncan, 1972). His first formal report noted that American willingness to revise the treaties joined the two with a bond of lasting friendship (Treat, 1932). Secretary of State Thomas F. Bayard agreed. Citing Japan's "steady progress toward sound principles of self-government," he instructed Hubbard to seek "separate terminable treaties on a footing of sovereign equality with other nations and with like freedom" (Treat, pp. 206-08). Hubbard was overwhelmed with pride to receive such instructions, so appropriate for "a great Republic, one of whose chief missions is to recognize... the freedom of the weaker civilized and smaller states from the domination and dictation of stronger nations.... Ex-parte treaties always favor the stronger and oppress the weaker Powers" (Treat, p. 208).

The Japanese and the fifteen treaty powers sat down to revision conferences on 1 May 1886. Hubbard participated as a member of the consortium of treaty powers, but he concluded two unilateral treaties favorable to the Japanese: one at the outset of his embassy and the other his crowning achievement and grand finale in early 1889.

When a California fugitive (Calvin Pratt) took refuge in Tokyo, Hubbard requested that Japanese authorities apprehend the miscreant, rather than have legation security guards make the arrest. He was unmoved when other treaty powers protested that he was setting a dangerous precedent. He took a lawyerly approach to the incident and concluded an extradition treaty with the Japanese on 29 April 1886. After the exchange of ratifications on 30 September 1886, the New York Times reported that the treaty was the first of its kind with any Oriental power, and proof that the United States would treat Japan more favorably than would the European powers (Duncan, 1972).

That Hubbard viewed the Japanese as equals is remarkable, considering that a wave of racial agitation in the United States had just culminated in the 1884 Chinese Exclusion Law (Kawakami, 1912). When the Tokyo press ran stories on the law the lawyer turned diplomat prepared and forwarded a legal brief to the editor of the Tokyo Independent. There were never, Hubbard wrote, nor ever would be, restrictions on Japanese emigration or naturalization in the United States. Then, in another brief on United States naturalization laws that he sent--unsolicited--to the State Department, he wrote that the term "white" referred only to the distinction made to the black or African race. Washington's noncommittal and rather uncomfortable reply was that "naturalization was a judicial function and no executive department was competent to express a decisive or controlling opinion on the question " (Treat, 1932, p. 237). The Third Assistant Secretary of State intimated that "a Japanese is no more white than a red American or a copper-colored Maylay is--but some courts keep right along naturalizing Japanese and Chinese, allee samee" (Treat, p. 237). This attitude would scuttle Hubbard's 1889 treaty.

The revision conferences were immobilized when the treaty powers failed to agree even on the principle of revision, or how far Japan had progressed as a "civilized" nation. They then offended the Japanese by proposing a system of mixed courts, similar to those in Egypt, for cases involving foreigners. Assimilation of western culture now seemed a waste and many Japanese began to criticize the government's official policy of westernization (Sansom, 1970). As elections to the first Diet approached, public outcries against the mixed court proposal pressured the Japanese to adjourn the conference sine die on 18 July 1887 (Treat, 1932).

Hubbard had already told the delegates that the United States was committed to revision and reserved the right to act alone if need be (Hubbard, 1899). He now regarded the treaty system as a defacto "entangling alliance" binding the United States to the foreign policy of others (Duncan, 1972). When the conference adjourned he gave assurances that the United States was ready, independently or with the other powers, "to give full relief to Japan from her quasi-commercial and political thralldom, and to recognize, even now (as proposed by my Government in 1878), the present and absolute autonomy of the Empire" (Treat, 1932, p. 257).

Hubbard was engaged in bi-lateral negotiations for a revised treaty when he learned that President Cleveland had lost his bid for reelection. He submitted his resignation, to take effect upon his successor's arrival, but continued to work for a new treaty. On 20 February 1889 Hubbard and Foreign Secretary Count Shigenobu Okuma concluded a Treaty of Amity, Commerce and Navigation that abolished extraterritoriality

and restored tariff autonomy to Japan (Treat, 1932). This convention, already approved by President Cleveland, was then ratified by Emperor Meiji and forwarded to Washington. Hubbard was confident that the United States Senate would promptly ratify the accord. He proudly proclaimed that Japan had "cut loose from the thralldom of sixteen Treaty Powers" and was now determined to "henceforth negotiate her Treaties on the basis of a free and independent power" (Treat, 1932, p. 288). But alas, the text of the treaty arrived in Washington ten days after President Benjamin Harrison's inauguration on 4 March 1899 (Hubbard, 1899).

Harrison appointed John Bayard's predecessor, James G. Blaine, as Secretary of State and sent John Franklin Swift, a native Californian, to Tokyo as Hubbard's successor. Swift, like Hubbard, was a lawyer and former state legislator, but there the similarity ends. Swift was deeply prejudiced against Orientals. He was one of the three United States treaty commissioners who drafted the treaty suspending Chinese immigration to the United States (Treat, 1932) and viewed Japan as "backward, its judicial system crude, and its people unprepared for the sudden influx of foreigners that the new treaties would bring" (Neu, 1975, p. 26). He feared the treaty would open the door to Japanese immigration to the United States and importuned Blaine to withhold the treaty from the Senate (Neu). His dispatches against the treaty he presented a complete reversal of Bingham's and Hubbard's positive perception of Japan. His deep racial prejudice against Orientals, shared by many Americans, especially Californians, shaded the subtle arguments by which he successfully engineered a new orientation within the State Department (Treat, 1932). Hubbard's treaty was never sent to the Senate. Stillborn in the musty files of Foggy Bottom, it remains an unfulfilled promise in early Japanese-American relations.

The end of the unequal treaty system finally came in 1894, when Great Britain concluded a treaty similar to Hubbard's, to take effect in 1899. As Hubbard had hoped would happen after ratification of his treaty, other Treaty Powers, including the United States, quickly concluded similar treaties. Not surprisingly, the American treaty included a clause giving the United States the right to limit Japanese immigration. Swift's attitudes, perhaps not typical of American ministers before or after him "suggest than an era of untroubled relations was drawing to a close" (Neu, 1972, p. 27).

Hubbard was a curious and sympathetic observer of Japan and the Japanese. His personal experiences and recollections provide a view of how late nineteenth century Americans perceived the remote, little known and exotic "Kingdom of the Mikado."

Hubbard, his wife, Janie, and their five year old daughter, Searcy, departed San Francisco aboard the City of Tokio on 2 June 1885. He noted that in addition to the American (mostly Protestant missionaries) and European passengers there were in steerage over a thousand Chinese laborers on their way home. One of the few things Hubbard noticed about them was that many were reverently carrying the ashes of their deceased relatives back to China "to find holy sepulchre under the shadows of the temples of Buddha--it being an ancient superstition of the Chinese Buddhists that the future happiness of their kindred is never absolutely assured until their mortal remains at last repose in their native land" (Hubbard, 1899, pp. 47-48). The touching similarity of these sentiments to those chiseled into Janie's headstone is poignant. Perhaps an omen of the personal loss and diplomatic failure that would mar his mission was the midnight grounding of his ship, after an uneventful passage, on a granite shelf in Tokyo Bay. His Japanese hosts rescued all of the passengers and crew only minutes before the ship broke in half and sank (Turner, 1979). An inauspicious beginning!

By taking his entire family with him Hubbard bore personal witness to his official insistence that he considered Japan a member of the family of civilized nations. His mother, Serena Carter Hubbard, his eldest daughter by his first wife, Serena and her husband, and their son, Richard, arrived in Japan on 31 March 1886 (Duncan, 1972). Serena's husband, Frederick S. Mansfield, a Tyler merchant, was nominated by Hubbard as First Secretary of the American Legation. Their second child, Hubbard's granddaughter, Louise, was born on 30 July 1886 at the Legation. Janie no doubt would have been an asset to her diplomat husband; she was educated, interested in politics and an attractive seventeen years younger than Richard. But she fell ill shortly after arriving in Japan and was unable to take part in Hubbard's official and social commitments.

In July of 1887 the entire family sought refuge from the annual summer cholera outbreak in the mountain resort of Nikko. There Janie succumbed to cholera on 9 July 1887. Her body was embalmed and, after a memorial service at the American Legation, she was temporarily entombed until the family boarded ship to return to the United States. She was laid to rest in

Oakwood Cemetery the day after the family returned to Tyler (Turner, 1978).

Hubbard's observations of Japanese society and culture were colored by both ante-bellum romanticism and his desire to convince his readers that Japan was a modern civilized society. He believed that westernization brought "The Womanhood of Japan" equality in education and social life. He reveals his Texas prejudices when he notes that although socially inferior to men, "She was never, as among the savage Indians of the West, required to perform the drudgery of menial labor in the home, in the chase or in the field.... Her culture of the old time, and until the American treaty (italics added) consisted in thrumming the 'samisen' and guitar to the weird notes of sad and medieval music" (Hubbard, 1899, pp. 144-45). He also romanticized material life and praised the soil, climate, diet (although he himself employed a Chinese cook who cooked American style!), housing and clothing. He wrote that everyone wore silk and "the people never seem in want or hungry" (Hubbard, pp. 88-93).

His view of Japanese religious life is likewise impaired by provincial preferences. He lauds the Japanese government for withdrawing religious tax exemptions and for nationalizing temple and shrine lands. Toleration of Christianity was proof of progress, and he predicted that it would soon replace a moribund Buddhism and a dying, "essentially infidel or agnostic" Shinto (Hubbard, 1899, pp. 211-220).

He was more realistic with trade and transport and forwarded varied and sometimes lengthy accounts of internal developments. His reports, such as those on naval construction, Army regulations, coinage, public health measures, instructions to governors of cities and prefectures, and the catalogs of the University of Japan and the English Law School at Tokyo (Treat, 1932), are rich and varied sources of contemporary accounts of Meiji modernization. He recorded his observations as he traveled about the countryside, beginning with the view from his railroad car as he traveled from Yokohama to Tokyo, after being rescued from the wreck of the City of Tokio. His involvement with Texas railroads, highways and commerce is reflected in his keen observations and reports of Japanese progress in these same areas. The ancient highway network impressed him, as did the Meiji government's commitment to railroad construction, albeit he was skeptical of the Japanese preference for a national rather than a private system.

Once home he remained a staunch advocate of close relations between the United States and Japan. He criticized the Triple Intervention after the Sino-Japanese War of 1894-95 (Hubbard, 1899) and predicted that Japan and the United States were predestined to be allies in Asia. Trade would link the two emerging powers. He was sure that the proposed Panama Canal would cut the Suez tie between Europe and Japan and forge a new commercial link between United States and Japan (Hubbard).

His dream of closer ties between Japan and the United States is embodied in the Ginkgo tree (Ginkgo biloba) he carried as a seedling to Tyler in 1889. He gave it to a friend, who planted it in his front lawn. The land was later sold to the City of Tyler and today the majestic tree's fan shaped leaves shade the south lawn of Tyler City Hall. Just as the Pacific War seemingly destroyed all prospects for amicable relations between the two Pacific powers, so the "Hubbard Ginkgo" (Haislet, 1984, p. 47) suffered near fatal wounds when it was struck by lightening several years ago. But the tree, like the partnership advocated by Hubbard, has recovered. Today it stands as his memorial, scarred but alive--within sight of Janie's tombstone.

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Some Positive Aspects of the Japanese Colonial Period in Micronesia, 1914 to 1935

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Japan and Micronesia have a long and largely unknown connection. According to a 12th century Japanese literary work--the Kokin Chomon Shu--initial Japanese contact with Micronesia dates back to at least 1171 C.E. when some strangers drifted ashore at Okinoshima of Izu the present day Shizuoka Prefecture (Hatanaka, 1981). They were possibly from Micronesia if we can rely on descriptions of their basic features and equipment. If they were indeed Microne sians, these Japanese documents might be the oldest records of Micronesians in the world.

The second major known contact occurred in the late 1830s when about twenty Japanese drifted ashore at Guam where most of them spent the rest of their lives. Assimilated into the local society, they instructed the people of Guam in the planting of rice paddy fields (Hatanaka, 1981). These early Japanese arrivals were community spirited people who were very helpful in the general island development. Today in Micronesia there are many families with Japanese names which bespeak their ancestry which goes back more than a hundred years (Hatanaka).

The Japanese refer to the Micronesian region as Nan'yo, or the "south seas." Business and commerce was the spearhead of Japanese economic development in the islands; long before Micronesia came under Japanese control, small groups of Japanese entrepre neurs, called "minishosa," had already established commercial ventures, starting with Chuuk (Truk), Pohnpei, and Palau. With determination, resilience, and skill these commercial pioneers, struggling under the most economically adverse conditions of isolation, lack of capital or any support from their home country, and placed under the suspicion and restrictions of the sometimes hostile German colonial government, came to exercise an economic influence far out of proportion to their numbers. From their small trading stores and from the decks of their handful of schooners, dealing in sundries in return for copra and other island products, they came to control a significant portion of trade in German Micronesia (Peattie, 1988).

By 1908, several of these struggling ventures had emerged to form the Nan'yo Boeki Kaisha (South Seas Trading Company)—"Nambo" for short, with a growing commercial network, including copra production, a chain of retail outlets, and a fleet of five vessels transporting inter-island freight, mail, and passengers. World War I, as it did for so much of Japanese commerce and industry, offered a windfall for the Nan'yo Boeki Kaisha . With the occupation of the German islands by the Japanese Imperial Navy, and the later establishment of a mandate under the League of Nations, the company was put under a lucrative navy contract to transport provisions and naval personnel within the islands and between Micronesia and the Japanese homeland. With heavy subsidies and cooperation with the government, its assets were worth more than three million yen by 1917. The Nan'yo Boeki Kaisha was able then to acquire several small competitive firms operating in the islands, and by 1920 it had attained the greatest prominence in all the Nan'yo (Peattie, 1988).

The guns of August 1914 in Europe were hardly heard in Micronesia. Except for cable flashes to the German colonial offices in the

district centers at Jaluit in the Marshalls; Kolonia, Pohnpei; the Truk Lagoon; Colonia, Yap; and Saipan in the Marianas;, most island residents were unaware that the war ever started. At Guam, the German cruiser SMS Cormoran was blown up in Apra Harbor on 7 April 1917 by her Captain Adelbert Zuckschwerdt with the loss of nine crewmen. The Cormoran had come to Guam more than two years before seeking refuge from the pursuing Japanese cruiser Iwate (Ward, 1970).

When Japanese naval forces sailed through Micronesia during October 1914, they occupied all the island centers and interned the German colonials they found there. When the war ended, the Versailles Peace Conference and subsequent treaty awarded the islands of Micronesia to Japan. The British supported this claim since the Japanese had assisted them with naval support in the region, as well as in the Mediterranean, during the great struggle.

The United States insisted that the Japanese administer the islands of Micronesia under a "class C mandate," according to the terms of the League of Nations. This the Japanese willingly did, as it solidified their claim to the islands and provided international recognition for them as an arrived world power.

A few Micronesians were eyewitnesses to the Japanese arrival. Pete Ada, Sr., was a child on Saipan when the Japanese came there in October, 1914. "They came ashore at Garapan, and they had these nice, white uniforms," he recalled." The Germans had dark blue uniforms, and one of them took off his sword and handed it over to one of the Japanese. Afterwards, all of us children were given rice candy by the celebrating Japanese officers" (Ballendorf , 1984). In Koror, the situation was similar. Lomisang, later to become the Reklai of Palau, recalled that "the Japanese imprisoned a few of the Germans and intended to execute them, but some Japanese civilians intervened and convinced the naval officials not to do that" (Ballendorf ,1978). In all the seizure activities the only casualty the Japanese sustained was one sailor who broke his leg in the boiler room aboard his ship (Bryan, 1965). The occupation was swift and complete, and, within one month, all German holdings in the Pacific were lost forever.

It is often the case that historical events happen inadvertently, without the parties involved understanding or even realizing their importance. Such was the advent of the Japanese League of Nations Mandate in Micronesia. As we look back upon it now with all its administrative faults and short-sighted arrangements, it was indeed the initial internationalization of the Western Pacific. In 1920, a civilian administration was established, called the Nan'yo Cho (South Seas Bureau), with its capital at Koror, Palau. Schools and public health facilities were established throughout the islands; facilities better than any which had been established by the former colonial powers, and all Micronesians were immunized against some diseases. Three years of education were compulsory with an additional two years for selected promising students in the district centers at Palau, Yap, Pohnpei, and Jaluit. Industry was developed. Fisheries were lucrative and many Micronesians participated in this activity. Agriculture was diversified -- sugar in the Marianas under the management and direction of the formidable entrepreneur Matsue Haruji while truck crops and varieties of fruits were grown elsewhere. Phosphate mining was conducted at Angaur, Rota, and Fais. For the first time, more than half of the Micronesians became functionally literate in the language of their colonizers. Public health conditions and standards improved, and there was near full employment on many islands (Peattie, 1988).

American President Woodrow Wilson refused to sign the Treaty of Versailles until the Japanese agreed to administer the islands under a League of Nations mandate. Since the mandate provided for no onsite inspections by the signatory powers, the mandate was, in effect, a transfer of Micronesia completely to Japanese control.

Economic Development

Business and commerce was the hallmark of Japanese economic development in the islands, and long before Micronesia came under Japanese control, small groups of Japanese entrepreneurs had already established commercial ventures, starting with Truk, Pohnpei, and the Palaus. With determination, resilience, and skill these commercial pioneers, struggling under the most economically adverse conditions of isolation, lack of capital or any support from their home country, and placed under the suspicion and restrictions of the sometimes hostile German colonial government,

came to exercise an economic influence out of proportion to their numbers. From their small trading stores and from their schooners, dealing in sundries in return for copra and other island products, they came to control significant portions of the trade of German Micronesia.

The 1920s saw Nan'yo Kohatsu Kaisha expand into a variety of enterprises general merchandise, fisheries, trade in fats and oils, and some construction through its thirty-two branches spread throughout Micronesia. One of its principal ventures continued to be maritime transportation. Beginning in 1922, under arrangements with the Nan'yocho, the company maintained a regular inter-island service between the principal islands of the Mandate and some of the adjacent British islands (Hatanaka, 1981). But the majority of its merchants were single traders, under contact to the company, who managed those small trading stores which became a ubiquitous feature of the Japanese presence in the South Seas. It was from these far-flung commercial outlets, their corrugated tin roofs baking in the tropic sun, that the Nan'yo Boeki was able to establish itself in the village economies of Micronesia, introducing a range of Japanese goods and services which profoundly altered islander tastes and lifestyles.

The development of Japanese industry in Micronesia was far more unsteady in the beginning. Soon after Japanese naval forces took possession of Micronesia, the islands were seen by Japanese business as an attractive area for development. Sugar seemed a particularly promising industry, given the hot, moist climate, the fertile soil of the Marianas, and Japanese success in sugar cultivation and refining in Taiwan. In order to take advantage of such an opportunity, several companies were formed, the Nishimura Takushoku and the Nan'yo Shokusan, by influential backers in Japan (Peattie, 1988). With little knowledge of either sugar cultivation or refining, and with inadequate investigation and planning, both companies in 1916 established themselves on Saipan each bringing in Korean laborers, tenant farmers from the Bonins, and poor fishermen from Japan to serve as a labor force. After several years of failure brought on by technical problems, corruption, and by a postwar world economic slump which caused the world price of sugar to plummet, the companies were on the verge of collapse. By 1919, they both unfortunately withdrew from Micronesia, leaving a thousand or more Japanese laborers and farmers to their fate. It was at the failure of these initial industrial ventures that voices were raised in the Japanese Diet and bureaucracy, advocating that Micronesia be abandoned altogether. But the Navy successfully argued otherwise, and Japan remained.

The Sugar Industry

It was not until the arrival of an entrepreneur possessed of determination, integrity, government backing, and technical skill in the sugar business that Japanese industry was to gain a solid base in the South Pacific. Matsue Haruji, trained in the United States at Louisiana State University, apprenticed with the Spreckles Company, and destined to be nick-named the "Sugar King" of the South Pacific, had made his name and fortune in the sugar business in Taiwan. Just at the time when Matsue went to Saipan to investigate the potential of the Marianas for sugar cultivation and refining, the first governor of Nan'yocho, Tezuka Toshiro, was enlisting the aid of the Oriental Development Company which had figured so largely in the economic development of Korea, for support of economic activity which would rescue those Japanese who had been abandoned on Saipan several years before.

With capital from the Oriental Development Company and the approval of the government, Matsue was able to take over the assets of Nishimura Takushoku and the Nan'yo Shokusan. Thus, in 1921, was founded the Nan'yo Kohatsu Kaisha (South Seas Development Company) familiarly known as "Nanko" with Matsue Haruji as executive director. Employing the Japanese already on Saipan and bringing in more immigrants from Okinawa and the Tohoku region, Matsue cleared the land, showed the workers how to cultivate and harvest the cane, and built his refineries. His initial efforts (1922-1923) were ruinous: labor problems, delays in obtaining refining equipment from Germany, insect blight, carelessness in cultivating the sugarcane by tenant farmers with whom he had contracted, difficulties in constructing a narrow-gauge railway from the field to the refinery, the plummeting price of sugar, and the destruction of his first small shipment of sugar in a warehouse by the fire which swept Yokohama following the great Kanto earthquake of 1923, comprise a catalog of

discouragements and failures which brought Matsue's ventures to the brink of disaster and would have daunted. a less determined entrepreneur. Yet, doggedly and resourcefully, Matsue undertook a series of measures to deal with these difficulties, and by 1924, had begun to reverse his company's fortunes. By 1925, he had built an alcohol factory and ice plant on Saipan, had placed over three thousand hectares under cultivation, had extended his operations to Saipan's neighboring islands, Tinian and Rota, and by the end of the decade had brought more than five thousand workers to the Marianas, where sugar had indeed become king, the main impetus behind the economic boom which followed (Peattie, 1988).

Reading Matsue Haruji's account of his triumph of hard work and determination over the most discouraging obstacles, one is struck by how much the old Meiji entrepreneurial spirit clings to him, in particular the idea of the concurrence between public service and private enrichment. Not content with mere economic success, Matsue viewed the growth of his sugar business in the far-off Pacific as a contribution not only to the prosperity and prestige of his nation but to the islands as well. Similarly, he saw the award of the Nan'yo to Japan as a League of Nations mandate as an indication that his nation's future course pointed southward. The Nan'yo, in Matsue's view, was important not just in itself, but even more as a base for the economic development of the entire region.

To the student of Meiji industrialization, moreover, there is something very familiar about the whole process of economic development .in the Nan'yo in the 1920s, for if Matsue was an echo of the Meiji entrepreneurial spirit, the mutual interest and support between "Nanko" and the Nan'yocho reflected arrangements typical of the interaction and cooperation and government in mid-Meiji times (Peattie, 1988).

Certainly Matsue's most heroic individual efforts would have been fruitless without major support from the colonial government, for the rapid growth of the Nan'yo Kohatsu Kaisha was due in large part to the aid that it received from the Nan'yocho: nearly rent free use of land; subsidies to support the necessary groundbreaking, land clearing, and planting efforts; a favorable tax policy; and an encouragement on sugar production in the Nan'yo. Nourished by such favored treatment and propelled by Matsue's initiatives, the company became the dominant economic development force not only in the Marianas but throughout Micronesia. With the government's backing, "Nanko" began moving out to the other Micronesian island groups and then ultimately to Melanesia and into the Dutch East Indies, diversifying its efforts into such enterprises as tapioca and coconut cultivation, marine products, phosphates, and warehousing, as it went along. In return for its support, the Nan'yocho closely monitored Matsue's company and helped it cooperate in the development and administration of the mandate. By the early 1930s, the "Nanko" sugar-related industries accounted for more than sixty percent of the revenues of the Nan'yocho, largely through port clearance fees for its products leaving Micronesia, and by the mid-1930s, the company was a substantial investor in the colonial government's own industrial enterprises.

During the first decade of the mandate, in any event, the success of the two largest enterprises, the Nan'yo Boeki Saizsha and the Nan'yo Kohatsu Kaisha, aided by a friendly administration, had pulled along the fortunes of commerce, industry, and agriculture throughout the islands which in turn opened the way for increased business and commerce. The Nan'yo not only became a self-sufficient territory, allowing the government to terminate its annual subsidy, but also contributed to the support of the home government as a whole, its small but growing surplus being transferred to the general account of the central government. Typically, Japanese efforts combining government backing and private initiative had turned an initial colonial liability into an asset (Peattie, 1988).

Japanese Immigration into the Nan'yo

What set this commercial industrial growth in the Nan'yo apart from that of most of the other colonies in the empire was the fact that it involved Micronesian labor to only a slight degree. By and large the burden of Japanese economic growth in the Nan'yo was borne by a growing number of Japanese immigrant laborers and farmers whose presence in the Nan'yo and whose livelihood there depended on the success of the commercial and industrial ventures just described.

There had seemed little reason at first to emigrate to Micronesia. At the outset of World War I, there had been not more than a hundred

Japanese in all the islands. The naval occupation had brought in a considerable number of naval personnel, government officials and some additional merchants and traders. But while the new Japanese presence was enlarged in scale and activity, lacking any real influx of permanent settlers, it remained a colonial bureaucracy in all but name, and those Japanese who came to the Nan'yo were mostly men without families whose official tour or commercial interests were limited in time and expectation. Initial efforts by private capital to promote settlement in Micronesia during the first years of the Japanese occupation had proved a scandalous tragedy. The exhausting, sun-scorched expe. ance of the first immigrants groups, lured to the Marianas by the ill-considered schemes of Japanese speculators and then marooned there when those financial ventures collapsed, had shown the terrible human cost of emigration to the tropics without proper planning or support from the home islands (Peattie, 1988).

The formal award of the Nan'yo to Japan as a mandated territory and the subsequent creation of a sound economic base for Micronesia dramatically improved the prospects for permanent Japanese settlement there. The success by 1924 of Matsue Haruji's efforts to establish a sugar industry in the Marianas, along with his recruitment of contract labor from the home islands, marked the beginning of an important change in the circumstances of the Nan'yo, a gradual shift from an occupation territory similar to most European colonies in the tropical Pacific, to settlement territory.

The Japanese government, once it had assumed official responsibility for Micronesia and had recognized the fact that sound and growing economy for the islands would have to involve a Japanese rather than an indigenous labor force and consumer population, began to encourage emigration to the islands as a policy. Indeed, its support and assistance to the Nan'yo Kohatsu Kaisha was in part a recognition that the company's ventures offered the best prospects for Japanese immigration, not only by laborers employed in the sugar refineries, but even more by tenant farmers whom the company brought to the islands under contract to cultivate its lands (Peattie, 1988).

Nanko rented land at reasonable terms, provided reasonable security and relatively generous economic support to immigrants who would clear the land and till the soil in return for tight company control over the use of the land and disposition of the sugar crop. These conditions made the Nan'yo a more suitable area for the farmer under contract rather than the independent cultivator (who usually faced considerable risks for small re turn) and thus it was the tenant farmer who began moving into the islands in increasing numbers in the late 1920s.

Conclusion

The advent of the Pacific War, of course, obliterated all the gains and development in Micronesia—a disaster for all the humanity involved. However, the positive aspects of the development of Micronesia cannot be ignored or understated. People were fully employed, and they prospered. Landless people received land. Micronesian students were taught good habits of industry and economy in their personal lives. Many Micronesians who are in economic and political leadership roles today give credit to the Japanese who showed them the way.

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Psychological Aspects of the Way of Tea

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The Japanese "way of tea" (chado) has historical roots from the twelfth century and has been practiced by millions in essentially the same form since the sixteenth century, yet its many psychological aspects have received scant analysis. A 400-year-old practice, to which there seems nothing truly similar in all the world, yet which has now captivated followers in at least 23 other countries, seems worthy of examination from a psychological perspective.

This article provides a cursory overview of possible motivations for entering the way of tea, its four major psychospiritual principles, several of its aesthetic values, the training process, the experience itself, and its alleged benefits. Because of the very syncretic and holistic nature of the way of tea, the use of the perspectives of transpersonal psychology and health psychology seem most appropriate although behavioral, cognitive, and humanistic-existential psychology will also be applied.

What is it that brings one to study on ones knees for hours at a time for a lifetime, learning more than 200 different detailed procedures for preparing and serving a bowl of tea? Not yet fathoming the answers to this question, I plan further research on it. One might hypothesize that the precision and orderliness of the discipline especially attract obsessive-compulsive personalities. On the other hand, some students seem very disorganized and messy, although they sometimes say the study has helped them to improve in this area. Another hypothesis might be that, although tea people are glad the Meiji government did not classify the way of tea as a "performing art," perhaps the desire to engage in some kind of artistic endeavor attracts some students in a similar way to performing or creating in other media.

Interviews with many students yield a wide range of answers as to their motivation. Many cite their interest in one or more of the seventeen or so arts involved; some of them are themselves artists and would like to be collectors. Others are interested in Japanese history, literature, religion, and philosophy, and find the way of tea to be an especially holistic, cross-disciplinary, pleasant and perhaps essential way to gain insight into their field. Many foreign students answer that they were attracted to traditional Japanese culture in general and the way of tea seemed to be the distilled quintessence of it. Japanese students are of course more likely to mention family influence as a major factor in their studying chado, for example, their mother's having taught it or inheriting tea utensils or a tea-related business like kimono- or sweet-making. Both foreign and Japanese students often say in one way or another that they study tea for psychological and spiritual growth. Occasionally one also mentions stress-reduction and physical health as factors.

Insight into why one might be motivated to choose this discipline over others comes from five related statements of its purpose given by the present Grand Master of the Urasenke lineage of tea. First is to "realize tranquility in relation with others within the environment" (Sen Soshitsu, 1979). In regard to tranquility, it is like a moving meditation, having been compared to T'ai Chi Ch'uan (Cohen, 1976), and thus more appealing to some than sitting still meditation. Secondly, it is usually practiced in relatedness with others rather than in solitude, and, thirdly, in an environmental context of both nature (divine creation) and art (human creation), rather than withdrawing the senses as in some forms of meditation. Fourth, this Grand Master, who has spread chado internationally, also speaks of its purpose in terms of bringing peace to the world through a bowl of tea prepared and received with all the heart, which certainly is another appeal to many. Fifth, he has also said its goal is "to build one's personality and character" (Sen Soshitsu XV, 1970, p. 6), and the most revered tea master of past history Sen Rikyu is quoted as saying, "The most important purpose of tea...is...to arrive at spiritual enlightenment" (Tanigawa, 1976, p. 37) or, in another translation, "Chanoyu is above all a matter of practicing and realizing the way in accord with

the Buddha's teaching" (Okakura, 1991, pp. 153-154).

The topics of meditation and enlightenment raise the issues of religion and spirituality, all of which are of importance in transpersonal psychology and health psychology. One often hears that chado is not a religion and even that it has nothing to do with religion, but this is debatable and depends on how one defines religion. Chado's history is intimately bound with Zen Buddhism, and it has also been related (eg., Hirota, 1995) to Shinto purity, Taoist balance of yin and yang, and Confucian propriety, with some even speculating about possible Christian influence on it. Okakura (1991), writing in 1906, said it is a religion of aesthetics. Sen Soshistsu XV (1970) says it is the secularization of Zen and is compatible with all religious faiths.

Anthropologist Jennifer Anderson (1991) applies to tea Gerardot's definition of religion and Zuesse's ideas of "confirmatory" and "transformatory" ritual. Ritual anchors the perceived order in transcendent realms, sometimes only confirming the "fitness" of the person's relation with the "Ultimate" and at other times, symbolically transforming the person, the transcendent order, or both. The latter "serves to regenerate or reiterate parts of the cognitive structure when its integrity is threatened by internal or external change" (Anderson, 1991, p. 6). Tea developed to touch Order behind Chaos, as experienced in war (especially at the end of the Onin Wars), fires, plagues, and natural disasters like earthquakes, volcano eruptions, typhoons, and tidal waves. Sadler described it in 1933 as combining the benefits of a "Muhammedan" mosque, a cricket field, a Freemason's Lodge, and a Quaker Meeting-house, where all were equal and society's disruptive forces were well-tempered (1992, p. x).

Anderson refers to the four famous principles of tea (wa or "harmony", kei or "respect", sei or "purity", and jaku or "tranquility") as the "major mediators between the transcendent, the cultural system, tea ritual, and the individual" and relates them to Taoisim, Confucianism, Shinto, and Buddhism, respectively (Anderson, 1991, p. 213). She sees the first three as confirmatory and the last as transformatory.

Wa embodies the Chinese Taoist concept of harmony between persons and between humans and nature. Suzuki reads its ideograph as yawaragi or "gentleness of spirit" and sees it as integral to Japanese personality and to tea (Suzuki, 1959, pp. 274, 305). The tea host carefully chooses everything for a tea gathering to foster harmony of all its elements: the season, guests, theme, flowers, tea, sweets, and utensils. The Japanese value of sunao or "sincere, humble compliance" reigns among the participants. Ideally the extreme politeness is not just form but actually expresses and, in a behavioral conditioning sense, even seems to "shape" recognition and respect for the other. The ideal is expressed by the Zen muhinshu, with mu referring to "Nothingness," hin to the "guest," and shu to the "host," thus indicating an empty selflessness, free from desire to impress or compete, and enabling a merging and transcending of individual egos and roles (Sen Soshitsu, 1976, p. 5).

Kei or "respect" may reflect the Confucian ordering of society overlaid on the harmony, although all are equal in the tearoom. It is characterized by sincere reverence, care, and restraint extended to each participant, to the artists represented and their work, and to nature. The oft repeated ichigo ichie or "one time, one meeting" reflects an openness to, in Martin Buber's terms, an I -Thou encounter in the here-and-now moment so stressed by humanistic-existential psychology for healthy relatedness and "becoming." Consistent also with transpersonal psychology and modern physics, such respect recognizes an emptiness, impermanence, constant fluctuation, interpenetration, and oneness behind the apparent separateness and multiplicity of people and things and thus includes an openness to nature and objects as well as to persons. Illustrating such respect for persons and nature, the third generation master Sen Sotan once placed in a vase the stem of a gift camellia, broken in its delivery from a priest by a young acolyte, and put the fallen blossom on the floor beneath (Sen Soshitsu, 1991).

Purity (sei), so valued in Shinto and Japanese culture in general, is both actual and ceremonial purity of the setting and utensils and, most importantly, purity of heart. The latter is reflected in the "mirror position" of the water ladle, which "mirrors" the heart rather than the face, to bring awareness to preparing the tea with a pure heart. Another example is the guests passing through a gate in the freshly sprinkled tea garden, leaving worldly cares outside, and thus, in terms of a Lotus Sutra parable, escaping from the "burning house" of mundane attachments to the "dewy path" or roji of the Pure Land. One also stoops at a low stone basin to rinse mouth and hands, bringing awareness to purity of speech and action before entering the tea room.

The fourth principle jaku or "tranquility" (satori or "enlightenment") is not really a goal for which to strive but a natural result of following the first three principles. Satori is said to inspire a profound personality change with great wisdom and compassion for all, stemming from the experiential realization of the emptiness/oneness discussed above. Satori may differ in quality and duration, be experienced more than once, and is the beginning rather than the end of spiritual training. Wholeness, health, and holiness accompany it, three words coming from the same root word, are currently being emphasized also in health psychology and transpersonal psychology. Experiencing the four principles in the mundane act of preparing and drinking tea can generalize to all that one does.

In addition to the psychological experiences described above, the aesthetics of chado warrant analysis. Japanese geido or "art-ways" have long used aesthetics as a "path" for psychological and spiritual development. In the Heian leisure of the twelfth century, suki meant "devotion to an art," such as music or poetry, which cultivated spiritual sensitivity. Kenko's Essays in Idleness (Keene, 1994) includes activities like the game of go, horseback riding, and archery which also become spiritual paths. In such activities, whole-hearted discipline is said to bring the death of the self and a change in awareness in which ordinary objects and prescribed movements performed without self consciousness become experienced as "embodiments of the real" (Hiroda, 1995). Aikido, kendo, kohdo (the way of incense), and shodo (the way of calligraphy) are other examples. In tea, light, fragile utensils are handled as if they were sturdy, heavy objects and vice versa, giving rise to an experience of oneness with the utensil, each movement wholly filling the momentary consciousness, yet dissolving into the next, each object complete in its own amazing presence, yet fulfilling its role and moving beyond itself.

Geido can thus lead to the Tendai Buddhist "One Mind" (isshin), an instant of consciousness in which subject is not divided from object and all things are perceived nonhierarchically (Hirota, 1995). One comes to realize the empty nonsubstantiality of all things, the provisional existence of all things, and the simultaneous inconceivableness of things as the nonduality of these two and the simultaneity of movement between them. Free of egocentric perception, one apprehends the vast array of phenomena with wisdom as the One and with compassion as the Many. Rikyu, too, spoke of the compassion for all that arises from entering the tranquility of nothingness and returning to the world to see that everything and everyone, even a tiny blade of grass, share that "glorious nothingness as its basis of being. It is wonderful, wonderful, and yet more wonderful...We cannot help putting both our palms together and bowing to each other" and everything as well (Kobori, 1988, p. 11). This "no-thingness" or emptiness or void or sunyata (Japanese, ku) is expressed in the Indian speculative inclination by its many sutras and philosophical works, in Chinese daily practicality by the Zen verse, "How wonderfully supernatural and how miraculous this is: I draw water, and I carry fuel", and in Japanese aesthetics such as chado.

A glimpse into history can help one understand the aesthetics of chado. Although chado began in the twelfth century with the drinking of tea in the simple settings of Zen monasteries, by the fourteenth century it had become a lavish entertainment of samurai and shogun with elaborate banquets in large shoin reception halls for contests of identifying teas and appreciating refined and elegant Chinese art objects. This shoin style of tea was reformed and infused by Juko, Joo, and Sen Rikyu in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries with that of the soan (hermit's thatched hut) style known as wabi tea. They inherited an aesthetic from priest and poet Shinkei of "withered", "chill", and "meager". This recognized the beauty of pathos revealed in ordinary objects of the natural world when attachments to the glittering surface of phenomena and the illusion of self and permanence fall away, duality of subject and object is transcended, and the One in the Many, about which Suzuki wrote, is apprehended (Hirota,1995). Suzuki defined wabi specifically as "transcendental aloofness in the midst of multiplicities" (1959, p 22).

The verb wabiru meant lacking things and being frustrated in ones wishes. Wabi is not mere poverty, however, but is transforming material insufficiency to discover the spiritual freedom which is beyond material things (Hago, 1989). The wabi aesthetic includes the ideas of poverty, insuffiency, rusticity, simplicity, naturalness, imperfection, irregularity, austerity, restraint, unpretentiousness, solitude, and timelessness. Joo expressed it in Fujiwara Teika's poem (Hirota, 1995, p. 169).

> As I gaze far about--
> There's neither blossom nor crimson leaf,
> At sea's edge: a rush hut in autumn
> dusk.

Wabi is also related to the aesthetic in Noh of yugen, the profoundly mysterious inpenetrable depth of things that is faint, subtle,

and barely perceived, as expressed by Shuko and quoted by his pupil, Noh master Komparu Zempo, "The moon not glimpsed through rifts in clouds holds no interest" (Zempo Zodan, 1553, p. 480).

The wabi aesthetic does not deny, but in fact builds on the appreciation of the refined, elegant Chinese wares, tastefully using one or two of these sophisticated objects in the simple four-and-a half-mat room, juxtaposed with rough native Japanese wares and ordinary objects like a wooden well bucket or bamboo lid rest. Rikyu's favored simple, irregular handmade black raku tea bowl, however, was not welcomed in Hideyoshi's all gold tearoom with gold utensils. The search for wabi experience is seen in the shichu no sankyo or "mountain hermitage in the middle of the city", which were tiny huts built on large estates for quiet retreat in the busy city. The great poet Basho said, "Appreciating the insufficient (wabishiki) is the fruit of having entered the Way" (Zuimonki).

The sabi aesthetic seems to overlap with wabi. From sabitaru or "to be solitary or desolate," it means solitude in the heart of nature, rust on old metals, and weather-worn stones. It can involve a lonely beauty, barest sufficiency, or worn elegance like the patina on old wood. The aesthetics of tea are experienced in the simplicity of the immediate and the particular. Rikyu is said to have placed flowers in the vase naturally as they grow in the field rather than in elaborate arrangement. One story tells of his cutting away all the blooming morning glories in his garden that Hideyoshi was coming to see so that he might truly see the one left in the vase.

Other aesthetic elements are incompleteness, asymmetry, and imperfection. Sen Soshitsu's "Afterword" to Okakura Tenshin's (1991) book notes that he called tea the "worship of the Imperfect," which allows for the process of perfecting, which is more important than perfection itself. Even Kenko's Esssays in Idleness (Keene, 1994) said that incompleteness is what holds interest. Likewise asymmetry engages the participant in a process of movement and direction rather than being static symmetry.

Chado's aesthetics include other important aspects which will only be mentioned here, such as empty space ("no-thingness") used in a positive way, subdued or little color, contrasting textures and shapes (including a balance of yin/yang or in/yo in Japanese), and great sensitivity to cycles and rhythms of nature, seasonal changes, always reminding of a unified Cosmos, ones "place" in it, and the constant flow of change.

A psychologically fascinating area related to tea aesthetics is that of intersensory awareness or synaesthesia. Sen Soshistu describes "tasting" a bowl of tea not just with the tongue but with the eyes, nose, ears, and hands. He also speaks of vision assuming a tactile quality and touch and sound experiences suggesting visual images (1980). A poem by his ancestor Sen Sotan describes the nature of tea as the sound of windblown pines in an ink painting, thus blending sound and vision. Like transpersonal and health psychology, Buddhism espouses a bodymind unity instead of the dualism of Cartesian thought, with the Buddhist six senses including the usual five plus consciousness as another sense in itself. Suzuki (1938) cites a tea master's description of the purification of the five senses during tea and thus of the mind itself. Teacher Hamamoto Soshun wrote of tea's bringing all six senses to function simultaneously and harmoniously and thus lead one to tranquility (Odin, 1988).

Another fascinating psychological hypothesis is that chado may help to balance and integrate bihemispheric brain functioning (Harris, 1986). The left brain should be activated by the logical, step wise sequences as well as by verbal factual information about utensils. The right brain should be stimulated by visuo-spatial effects of the setting and movements and by the symbols and feelings. This could lead to an integrated awareness of environment, actions, thoughts, and feelings, thus once again transcending the dichotomies of body/mind and subject/object.

The training of tea practioners is what would be expected for a social institution modeled, like almost all others in Japan from the family to the nation, on the patrilineal kin group and descended from feudal Japan. A social hierarchy extends from the Grand Master Rikyu, other ancestors, the current Grand Master and his wife, his son who is the heir next in line and his family, other biological family members, the highest ranking teachers (gyotei), mizuya sensei (those in day-and-night service and training to become gyotei), other teachers in rank by seniority, and students likewise ranked. Sempai/kohai or senior/junior relationships are an integral part of the structure. After just one day, one becomes sempai to others, and one remains kohai to others for life. Sempai are responsible to their sempai in turn for their kohai. Obedience without argument or questioning and correction, accepted without excuses, are expected. The most proper response seems to be 'hai!' ("yes"). Ideally relationships are characterized by respect for the teacher or

sempai and benevolence and guidance for the student or kohai. Many aisatsu (formal greetings, bows, waiting on one's knees and knuckles) imply the proper respect.

One is in a sense a member of the ie (family "house") and its extended iemoto and thus responsible to all those above and below one and ultimately to the Grand Master to protect his and the "house's" reputation in one's attire and conduct. One is responsible to set an example for kohai, respect the traditions, be frugal, and cooperate, always putting the welfare of the group above oneself and always submitting in the highly valued sunao (pure and sincere compliance).

Training tends to be in the tradition of rigorous Zen discipline, with no complaints about strenuous hours on ones knees nor about preparations (toban) like sawing charcoal, wiping tatami mats on hands and knees, and cleaning the garden or toilets. These are privileges of service and opportunities for spiritual development, especially death to and transcendence of the self.

Contrary to the implications of modern psychological research on effective shaping of human beings, pedagogical techniques of some tea teachers tend to employ more punishment than reward. "There is no praise for doing the right thing" is a saying. Behaviors and attitudes sometimes seem to be shaped less frequently with compliments and praise than with scolding and shaming in front of the group or ostracism by withdrawing eye contact or other attention. Like the chores, this, too, seems geared toward instilling self-abnegation and humility and, hopefully, a zeal to improve. Western research has shown positive reinforcement to be more effective for learning with less negative side effects than punishment. Research is needed on whether this applies to chado training or to Japanese people in general. A seemingly very effective method that tea teachers use is behavioral modeling or imitation of the teacher's or another student's movements while the latter is being corrected.

By many repetitions, one learns with one's body, developing a kind of "body memory" for the many procedures, which allows the experiences in awareness discussed earlier to occur. One may read and study illustrations of some of the published procedures, but the spiritual values and complex techniques are primarily learned by personal instruction. One is forbidden to take notes during lessons. Some procedures are "secret" and transmitted only orally after advancing to certain levels. Lest this idea of "advance" be misunderstood, one is often reminded of keeping the "beginner's mind" and of the circularity of beginning at one, going to ten, and returning to another "one" again, even as depicted in the Buddhist ox-herding picture series. Learning and strictly conforming to the prescribed procedures until they are mastered is required before any creativity with the traditional forms is allowed, typically after ten years.

Much of this article has already described aspects of the potential experience of chado. In addition, the procedures give opportunity for exercise in concentration, focusing the awareness to a "point in front" (the literal meaning of temae, the term for a tea procedure) of the host. At the same time, there is ideally an integrated, fluid awareness of guests, oneself, and the whole context simultaneously. Many exercises like the kagetsu of the shichiji shiki (Seven Exercises), in which one draws by chance certain roles and continually switches them, are group drills in awareness, timing, coordination, cooperation, and flexibility.

Another part of the tea experience is the spaciousness of the uncluttered, simple room and the restraint from idle conversation or even music, with only the soothing sounds of tabi sliding on tatami mats, water boiling in the kettle, the tap of the teascoop on the bowl, the whisking of the tea. This is relaxing stress management for those of us who live in cluttered homes, crowded cities, and busy minds.

This article has already touched on many of the benefits of chado. The earliest proponents of tea in Japan also wrote of its benefits. The founder of Rinzai Zen in Japan, Eisai, who brought matcha ("green tea") from China in 1191, wrote a pamphlet Kissa Yojoki ("The Preservation of Health through Drinking Tea"). His disciple and friend, the priest Myoe, to whom he brought seeds at Kozanji, had ten values of tea inscribed on a tea kettle (Sadler, 1992, 94). Each of these can be reviewed briefly in modern terms: Tea has the blessing of all the deities. Chado's syncretic religious origins and compatability with all religions were discussed. Tea promotes filial piety. The hereditary position of tea master and the ie and iemoto (family/house) structure discussed earlier give rise to a sense of belonging and loyalty to the group. The conformity to tradition, the homogeneity of the group, and the intimate tea room ideally for no more than five guests add to this sense of identity and having a "place." The present Grand Master of Urasenke makes tea offerings every morning to Rikyu, other ancestors and family members, past iemoto, his late Zen master, and all deceased followers of

tea. Tea drives away the devil. In modern thought, the previous discussions of the death and transcendence of the self and the development of wisdom and compassion seem applicable here. Tea vanishes drowsiness. Certainly the caffeine keeps one awake for study and meditation and can interfere with sleep! Tea keeps the five viscera in harmony, and it wards off disease.

The value of chado at reducing stress, which is at least a contributing factor in probably all disease, was mentioned above. At the same time, the individual must be careful to manage optimally the challenging stress of the training and of holding tea gatherings themselves. Also, one could become attached to "form" forgetting the "emptiness" and transience behind form and become stressed over acquisitiveness and indebtedness for and preservation of expensive utensils.

In addition to stress-management, chado seem supported by recent research (McCoy, 1997) that tea does indeed help prevent disease and promote longevity. Apparently the "flavonoid" EGCg, a potent antioxidant, helps prevent cell damage which is believed to contribute to over 50 diseases. Evidence suggests that tea reduces the risk of strokes and fatal heart attacks by the flavonoids' inhibiting blood platelets' clumping. Although other correlates may account for such findings, tea drinkers also have lower cholesterol levels and lower blood pressure. Over twenty studies with animals give evidence that tea helps prevent some cancers, especially those of digestive and respiratory systems and of skin. It also contains fluoride which strengthens tooth enamel and helps prevent decay.

Tea strengthens friendships. Common interests, cooperative work, and sharing of both daily and transcendent experiences form lasting bonds. Tea disciplines body and mind. The body/mind experiences described earlier exemplify this. The erect posture, development of body memory for fluid movements, and simultaneous awareness of self, other, environment, utensils and the formless oneness permeating all ideally develops and generalizes to daily activities. Tea destroys the passions. Tea gives a peaceful death. The fostering of health allows a peaceful, natural death without the suffering of disease. The development of the four principles of harmony, respect, purity, and tranquility or enlightenment would foster a consciousness that could easily make a transition into the Oneness beyond/behind/beneath/within the Many.

Having only briefly introduced some of the psychological aspects of the Way of Tea, much more thorough research and analysis of these and others is needed. As Sen Soshitsu said on the first page of the first issue of the first volume of the Chanoyu Quarterly, with its great potential for affecting daily life, chado is a "subject for careful study, especially from the standpoint of social science" (1970, p. 1).

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Japanese Education Reinterpreted: Reexamining Japanese and American Educational Strategies in Light of Western Educational and Social Psychology

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American stereotypes of Japanese culture and Japanese-style education run something like the following: Japanese teachers are accused of being authoritarian, brain-washing robots intent only on maximizing students' exam scores. Japanese schools are accused of being devoid of individuality and darkened by clouds of group mindedness that threaten to dim the spirits of Japanese children irreversibly; for instance:

> Many Westerners have an image of Japanese education that fails to do justice to the delicacy and complexity with which the Japanese approach teaching and learning, especially in preschools and elementary schools... In a parallel image, Japanese elementary, junior, and senior high schools are seen as incubators of conformity, as military-like settings in which tyrannical teachers induce conformity by requiring students to wear identical dress, repeat the same slogans, learn the same facts, memorize the same textbooks, follow the same aesthetic forms, prepare for the same examinations, and otherwise learn to be like one another (Finkelstein, 1991, pp. 77-78).

Sometimes the American stereotype brings to mind the depiction of the *Kyoiku Mama* in Japanese manga. In one such scene, the education mama chops off her disobedient son's head with a carving knife and then complacently returns to washing the dishes as her son lies in slivers on the floor. While the Japanese manga cartoonists are utilizing hyperbole and satire the same cannot be said for most foreign critics of the Japanese education system. Despite recent research (Stronach, personal communication, June, 1995) which demonstrates a remarkable decline in patriotism compared to even recent forebears, foreign critics continue to picture the Japanese education system based upon outmoded explanations of Japanese nationalism and ethnocentrism.

Scholars of the politics of Japan and international diplomacy often fail to apply concepts from social and educational psychology to explicate the practices of Japanese teachers. Smith (1997) in Japan: A Reinterpretation continues to emphasize the role of rote memorization:

> Pupils are taught not to think but to accumulate immense piles of disparate facts that can be repeated on command but cannot be connected. This is not an accident or a lapse. Rote learning is the child's next lesson in dependence. To think is an act of autonomy; to memorize the given is to rely upon authority (Smith, 1997, p. 83).

Such depictions, while they may fit some topics of instruction or some levels of education, ignore recent work examining mathematics and science instruction in Japanese classrooms at the elementary through junior high school level (Lee, Graham, Stevenson, 1996; Stigler, Fernandez, & Yoshida, 1996). Observations of these classrooms suggest that what is emphasized, and probably what is so effective, is the recognition of underlying processes of problem solving and generalization across types of problems and their solutions. The teacher and other students spend a significant amount of time demonstrating solutions to problems, showing alternate paths to the solutions of the same problem, explaining

incorrect responses, and applying examples to everyday life.

While wonderfully insightful analyses have delineated Confucian and Zen influences upon Japanese educational philosophy and pedagogy (Finkelstein, Imamura, & Tobin, 1991; Rohlen & LeTendre, 1996), beyond concerns with conformity and interdependence, little attention has been given to the application of western social psychology and educational psychology to explaining the effectiveness of the Japanese approach. This work juxtaposes the areas of social learning, specifically the impact of expectations and self-fulfilling prophecies, with reactance theory and overjustification theory. While North American culture has given a great deal of attention to work in the area of cognitive dissonance theory and the notion of insuffficient justification, minimal attention has been focused upon a similar line of work examining the impact of the overjustification of behavior. Along with recent work that has suggested that the dynamics of cognitive dissonance and the effects of insufficient justification may be much less significant for Asian cultures than western cultures (Heine & Lehman, 1997), I am suggesting that Asian cultures, like Japan, have taken much more seriously the overjustifcation of behavior, though not necessarily discussed in those terms, and its tendency to dampen the development of children's motivation, self sufficiency, and inculcation of values.

Based on her observations of fifteen Japanese nursery schools, Lewis (1991) noted the following teacher control strategies: "(1) minimizing the impression of teacher control, (2) delegating control to children, (3) providing plentiful opportunities for children to acquire a 'good-girl' or 'good-boy' identity, and (4) avoiding the attribution that children intentionally misbehave" (p. 85). Each of these aims serves to diminish the external control of authority figures and increase the internalization of rules of behavior.

Research in the area of over-justification effects (Lepper, Greene, & Nisbett, 1973) has shown that when children who already have an intrinsic interest in an activity are unnecessarily enticed by the promise of extrinsic rewards, their intrinsic motivation decreases. Their desire to perform the activity becomes associated with extrinsic factors which displace the intrinsic ones. By minimizing the impression of teacher control and delegating control to children, Japanese teachers nourish children's inculcation of proper classroom behavior and internalization of achievement motivation beginning at a very young age. At the same time teachers minimize the likelihood of reactance, i.e., rebelling against the wishes of authority in order to assert one's independence and sense of self, in the early school years.

When Japanese nursery school teachers orchestrate opportunities for students to guide and assist other students in everyday activities in the classroom, as well as to resolve tangible problems or interpersonal conflicts, they subtly construct opportunities for children to choose to help other children, to incorporate that behavior into their identities, and to model that behavior for other children. When the role of *toban*, or classroom monitor, is then rotated throughout the class membership to ensure that all students fill this role at some time, the teachers give all students access to this opportunity to incorporate the role of leader and the traits of supporter and helper. In this fashion, the 'good-boy, good-girl' identity is quietly adopted by the child without the need for verbal persuasion or a struggle with the authority figure.

The most unusual approach taken by the Japanese nursery school teachers is the language that they use to avoid the attribution that children deliberately misbehave. Lewis (1991) describes how Japanese nursery school teachers would attribute children's misbehavior to the fact that they "had 'forgotten their promises' or did not 'understand'" (p. 91). After observing several boys in the class throw clay at the fish in the classroom tank, Lewis heard the teacher explain to the class that some boys in the class thought they were helping the fish by throwing in clay 'food' but that actually the boys were harming the fish" (p. 86). When Lewis interviewed the teacher asking her whether she really believed that the boys were trying to help rather than harm the fish, she responded by asserting that "If they understood it was wrong, they wouldn't do it" (p. 87). While clearly not fundamental to Japanese culture, the classic 'fundamental attribution error' describes how Americans, inside and outside of the classroom, are inclined toward using dispositional attributions to explain the behavior of others. Therefore, the still malleable misbehaving child is readily labeled and tracked early in his or her academic career, potentially resulting in devastating self-fulfilling prophecies in the long run.

Overall, Japanese teachers are making assumptions in their interactions with these young students that convey expectations of the

most positive type. They assume children are capable of self-supervision which sets up expectations of competence, nurtures feelings of self-efficacy, and creates self-fulfilling prophecies of success. Interestingly enough, western applications of the dynamics of self-fulfilling prophecy have focused primarily upon understanding those who are singled out as different, stigmatized, and impacted negatively by faulty or short-sighted expectations. Alternatively, self-fulfilling prophecy can as readily be applied to 'helping students bloom' (Rosenthal & Jacobsen, 1968) by deliberately fostering positive expectations. While this may be viewed by some as intrusive and as ideologically unacceptable, others may feel that the time has come for Americans to take a very deliberate look at what messages our schools are fostering in children "made in America."

While Japanese approaches to teaching and learning may historically stem from the synthesis of the Confucian and Zen cultural heritage, the understanding of the dynamics behind the teacher-student interaction in terms of contemporary social psychology may indeed make the application of Japanese methods to American classrooms more palatable for some and more feasible for others. A prime example of how the Japanese capitalize on intrinsic motivation is found in the Suzuki method of music instruction. Finkelstein, Imamura, and Tobin (1991) note that the method is used to "create a learning envirommenl calculated to inspire students to (1) learn a specific skill and become dedicated members of a community, (2) organize occasions to practice basic component routines until the routines become automatic, and (3) monitor their own performance" (p. 96). Peak (1991) details these efforts and points out that Japanese psychologists have identified careful attention to basic training that is thorough and reflective as a significant factor in Japanese children's academic success.

To arouse motivation, children listen to songs that they will play long before touching a key on the piano or a string on the violin and then observe their mothers receiving initial instruction at the instrument (Peak, 1991). The image evoked by reading Peak's description brings to mind B. F. Skinner's children of Walden Two standing before the cauldron of soup learning to delay gratification. Perhaps the adoption of such Skinnerian principles of behaviorism might have precluded the American need for ever-expanding categories of diagnosis for hyperactivity and attention deficits. Meanwhile, Japanese parents and teachers have made it their business to teach attention skills. Arousing motivation is so much a part of the Japanese cultural psyche that the term *minarai kikan* specifically refers to a period of learning through watching. Suzuki students spend two to six months in preparation before they play a single note on the piano or violin. While work in social learning theory has explicated the importance of observational learning, little evidence of the kind of application we see in Japanese classrooms can be found in American classrooms or instruction in extracurricular activities. Finally, paralleling the depictions of Lewis based upon Japanese nursery schools, Peak (1991) reports that among Japanese instructors using the Suzuki method, "Children whose attention wanders easily are believed to be in need of concentration practice rather than discipline" (p. 105).

The value of the repetition of basic routines is taught through the examples of proper seating, composure, the execution of greetings, and proper bowing. Concentration is developed through practice in hearing the sounds of single notes and listening to pieces that will be played later while maintaining the proper posture and stance as if actually playing the instrument. Finally self-monitoring is fostered. According to Peak (1991), *hansei* refers to the ritualized final step of evaluation, which evolves as a natural step in the culmination of group work and eventually individual work as well.

Salkind, Kojia, and Zelniker (1978) have observed that five to seven year old Japanese children are more accurate and reflective than their American and Israeli peers. In addition, while they are correspondingly slow in solving tests of cognitive style at this young age, by the time they reach the age of ten, they are at once more accurate, more reflective, and quicker at such problems. Lewis (1991) further observes that Japanese teachers assume that understanding takes precedence over performance and that children will learn from the natural consequences of the errors they make, so that a child may be left to walk about the room with the wrong shoes on each foot until the child decides this is uncomfortable and wishes to correct the error, which once again results in learning that is self-paced and intrinsically motivated rather than extrinsically manipulated.

Sato's characterization of Japanese education in elementary school as "honoring the individual" reinterprets the Japanese 'group

orientation' as a 'relations orientation' and identifies *kokoro*, or developing one's heart, as a concept that is central to Japanese education. *Kokoro* represents the combination of cognition and emotion, somewhat foreign to the west but characteristic of eastern Daoism and Zen, that links concern for others with honoring the self. Sato (1996) enlightens us regarding how teachers develop internal control and promote self and peer discipline:

> Well-paced praise and its complement, silence, were the teachers' most powerful tools. Praise set expectations and drew attention to students who exhibited the desired behavior. Alternatively, teachers just mentioned the problem: "Some people are still not listening" or "Everyone has not turned in their notebooks," calmly pointing out the inconvenience caused to others. Responsibility is left with students to take the initiative. Disappointment or approval often needs no words; people read each other's eyes, face, or body language. Empathy and awareness of one's effect on others should bring students into line. Rather than verbal duels, silent pauses call *kokoro* into action, hence nurturing its development (p. 141).

This depicts a very different image of the teacher of Japanese youth, more akin to the Japanese notion of the *Nekketsu Sensei* (warm-hearted, hot-blooded teacher) than the militaristic image popularized in the west.

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Think Polytechnic: Japan Studies at a Technical University

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This paper describes how one technological institution, Southern Polytechnic State University (SPSU), has started a modest Japan Studies Program. After giving a brief description of the school, I will outline the main parts of our program and then suggest some future possibilities. You may see some features you recognize if you teach at a liberal arts institution, such as a Japanese literature course, but you will see others, such as an International Technical Communication course, that are not standard fare at most schools. Thus, several quite disparate courses work together to help Southern Polytechnic's students learn about a culture that may be part of their working lives in professions related to science, technology, and communication.

A university like SPSU at first seems a most unlikely place to establish a beachhead in Japan Studies. SPSU was only recently designated a university--having been so renamed in 1996. Our previous incarnations as Southern College of Technology and as Southern Technical Institute reflect the obvious technical orientation of the institution. For much of our history, our only degree programs were in engineering technology. Yet for at least the last ten years, we have worked hard to develop a wider range of courses and degrees. We now offer undergraduate and graduate degrees in architecture, computer science, construction, engineering technology, management, mathematics, physics, and technical and professional communication. Indeed, we recently defined our school's purpose as:

> Southern Polytechnic educates students by balancing theory and practice and liberal arts with technology.

Clearly, there is room under this large umbrella for international studies--and, in the case of my own department, for Asian Studies Programs.

Our story began with trips by four of us, two each year, to the Asian Studies Development Program (ASDP) sponsored by the East-West Center and the University of Hawaii. Although that program placed most emphasis on China the year I attended, nevertheless it did give me and my ASDP partner from Southern Polytechnic--Dr. Susan Morrow--a chance to begin our study of Japan. Shortly after we attended the ASDP, our department began considering the development of some Asian courses, even though we were not Asianists by doctoral training. This opportunity occurred mainly because the university's Social and International Studies Department agreed that we could help with Asian courses. With tentative approval to develop a Japan course, I visited Japan in 1994 with a group led by Dr. Joe Overton and Dr. Rick Castberg; my colleague Susan Morrow went in 1995 and again in 1996. Later I attended the Japan Studies Institute at San Diego State University.

What kind of program have we fashioned as a result of our work in Japan studies? I will focus on three levels of the curriculum where we have introduced Japan coursework, or have plans to do so when our university converts to the semester system in fall of 1998:

- Core Curriculum
- International Studies Minor
- Degree Programs in Technical and Professional Communication

In an already packed Core--regulated by our state Board of Regents--we found a way to offer Japanese literature, which my colleague Dr. Susan Morrow has taught once. Specifically, we converted a traditional World Literature survey into an "umbrella" course that, depending on the quarter, would harbor a broad-based world literature class or a focused world literature class--such as Japan literature or African-American literature. Although this narrow-range option cannot replace one of the traditional literature surveys that students must take to satisfy the Core, it can serve as an option in part of the Core. The course was advertised, was taught successfully by Dr. Morrow, and certainly has served to strengthen our students' background in world literatures.

We also wanted to offer students a course that would provide a broad cultural

background on Japan. Toward that end, I had the good fortune of having in our department a Japanese graduate student, Minoru Moriguchi, with the talent, energy, and interest to develop a Japan Culture course--which I "co-taught" (in name only, as instructor of record). We allowed students to use this course as a Core curriculum option. I should add that our university--and indeed the entire University System of Georgia--has been strongly encouraged to "internationalize" the curriculum. The Japan Culture course certainly seemed to support this effort.

Minoru Moriguchi had three main activities or goals in teaching the course: a) Exploring perceptions Americans have of Japan and vice versa. b) Examining what Minoru called the "Japanese mentality" (adapted from the course text, Nakane, 1970) and then covering many topical issues that reflect this mentality. The individual topics were suggested by the other text in the course, Danziger(1993). c) Introducing some language basics, including words associated with the 26 main discussion topics in the course.

The course went very well. Perhaps most surprising to me was the success with which students learned basic Japanese, even though the course was not primarily a language course. Evaluations completed by the students were outstanding. However, my friend, student, and adjunct faculty member, Minoru Moriguchi, graduated from Southern Polytechnic and returned to Osaka. Thus I plan to teach the Japan Culture course myself during the 1997-1998 academic year.

Both the Japan Literature and Japan Culture courses are offered at the lower Core level. The next step will be to make the Japan Culture course--perhaps combined with the Japan literature course--part of a larger program. An opportunity for that change has come about because of the recent approval of an International Studies Minor, which includes a Regional Studies course. This Regional Studies offering will become home for the Japan class and for courses on other countries and regions. What is unusual about this development is the fact that the Social and International Studies Department, which will house the minor, has no major. The Board of Regents allowed this exception presumably because it realized that students majoring in engineering technology, computer science, management, architecture, and technical communication will greatly benefit from an international background.

The third part of our Japan studies program resides in our degree programs in technical and professional communication. My department has provided a forum for introducing a side of Japan studies that well suits a polytechnic university. Some of the fastest growing humanities programs is this country are B.S. and M.S. degrees in technical and professional communication. Our M.S. in Technical and Professional Communication degree includes a course called International Technical Communication. At this point it is also double listed in the undergraduate degree program. The description of the course in the catalog is:

> Survey of the major issues that affect technical communication from a global perspective. Topics may include cultural influences on communication, challenges associated with technical translation, differing uses of graphics, communicating with multinational organizations, and theoretical issues related to international communication.

As the only faculty member who has taught the course thus far, I use the class as a forum for discussing two main topics: intercultural communication in general and international technical communication in particular. The course examines five or ten countries or regions that present a diverse set of cultural traits and that are now active in the field of technical communication. Germany and Japan are central to the course and represent, conveniently, close to the opposite ends of the spectrum of one major cultural trait often noted in reference to Japan--that of "low context" versus "high context" cultures (Hall, 1976).

Some of the topics that might be covered with regard to Japan, Germany, and other countries are:

1. General features of culture--for example
   --individualism vs. collectivism
   --low context vs. high context
   --direct communication vs. indirect communication
2. Relative importance of written language
3. Relative importance of graphics in communication
4. Organization of messages--both oral and written
5. Types of nonverbal communication
6. Approaches to negotiation

(Some of the above are adapted from Varner & Beamer, 1995. For another good analysis of culturally defining criteria, see Gudykunst & Nishida, 1994.)

The course starts to get more complicated when it moves away from general issues of intercultural communication and more

specifically into international technical communication--where one major goal is to learn enough about a specific cultural audience such that written work associated with a product or service can be developed. Diverse cultural values, legal regulations, and language features make this a heady challenge. For example, North Americans tend to think that it is the writer's responsibility to analyze the needs of the audience and then design a document that responds to these needs. Some experts on Japanese communication suggest that the Japanese see this issue the other way around. To the Japanese, it is more the responsibility of the readers to understand the message. Thus if a message is not conveyed clearly, it may be the fault of the reader, not the writer (Kohl, Barclay, Pinelli, Keene, & Kennedy, 1993). This distinction, if accurate, presents a central difference in technical communication theory in both countries.

Another item for discussion in the International Technical Communication course concerns issues of contrastive rhetoric. Questions persist about the ability of the Japanese language to permit adequate expression of technical ideas. I am no expert on this point, so I have relied on comments by others. One technical communication expert wrote:

> . . . in Japanese industries, English technical discourse is remarkably common--it is in fact the basic technical language. Engineers, technicians, managers routinely communicate among themselves as well as with the outside world in written technical English. Engineers working at Sony Corporation, for example, write monthly progress reports in English. Instructions, manuals, feasibility studies, specifications, test reports, and technical articles are written in English even when they are not intended for circulation in English-speaking countries (Stevenson, 1983, p. 321).

You can imagine that issues like this one provide interesting class discussion. Another important topic is writing style. When Japanese write in English, for example, they may not be comfortable with "command" verbs--which we would normally use in instructions. They may think it impolite to write in such a demonstrative fashion (Kohl, et al., 1993). Yet we in the U.S. recognize that an action-oriented style is essential to the clear presentation of instructions for products and services. Again, cultural and linguistic issues converge to highlight clear differences in writing in Japan and the U.S.

Then there are the well-known deferential and exceedingly polite (from the U.S. perspective) features of Japanese correspondence, such as the continued importance of handwritten correspondence in some situations, beginning references in letters to the weather or the cherry blossoms, only indirect references to information that is in any way controversial, and diplomatic language that makes clear the overriding importance of personal relationships (Haneda & Shima, 1982). For better or worse, some of these features are changing as Japanese professionals continue to be influenced by exposure to Western writing patterns. Indeed, an interesting topic in an International Technical Communication course would be the degree to which exposure to the so-called "international language of business" (i.e., English) has caused Japanese writers to adopt writing characteristics alien to their own culture--such as a more direct writing pattern. Such questions are intriguing for students to analyze. In my course, they proceed to investigate the cultural and communication features of a particular country, either in a group or individual project.

Japan is just one of the five to ten countries or regions that receive emphasis in my course called International Technical Communication. Yet I think there is good reason for giving it considerable attention. First, Japan does an extraordinary amount of business with the U.S. Second, it is a country about which we have known quite little until recently. And third, there is a growing interest in technical communication among Japanese professionals and industries; we have a good deal to learn from each other.

Thus we have made an effort to provide undergraduate and graduate students with courses in literature, culture, and technical communication as related to Japan. What is next with regard to Japan Studies, besides our continuing to teach the courses already described?

First, I will encourage more individualized student projects. Students can take on special projects, internships, and master's degree theses related to international communication in general and Japan in particular. I already supervised one independent study at the graduate level entitled "Cultural Background of Graphic-Oriented Technical Writing in Japan," by M. Moriguchi, and have directed a thesis entitled "International Technical Communication through the Internet,"

by D. Fierro. There is plenty of material for many more such projects.

Second, I plan to increase the degree to which I have used Japan as an example in my own publications for classrooms. In my Technical Writing: A Practical Approach (1997), I use a fictional international consulting firm, McDuff, Inc., as a source of examples and assignments for students. The book includes a Tokyo office as one of McDuff's six overseas locations, along with some guidelines for technical professionals to use when communicating outside one's own culture. Writing specifically about Japan, for example, I note that a new employee of McDuff's Tokyo office, Sarah Logan, is preparing to do business with Japanese by learning more about cultural features such as Wa, the name for harmony sought within members of team and between a company and its vendors. In the next addition of the book, I plan to expand the international focus and add more Japan-specific case studies and assignments.

Finally, it is my goal to help establish a faculty and student exchange program between Southern Polytechnic State University and a university in Japan with an interest in technical communication. The model will be an exchange we are currently developing with a consortium of technical universities near Berlin, Germany. In this German arrangement, we have already exchanged students and are planning to send two visiting faculty in spring 1997 and spring 1998. A similar program with Japan would advance the international goals of our department and university.

In summary, the Japanese "program" at our university is less a traditional program than it is a collection of individual efforts that fit the goals of a technical university. Our institution has aimed to educate students about Japan by (1) introducing Japan literature and Japan culture courses in the Core curriculum, (2) campaigning for inclusion of a Japan course in the recently approved International Studies Minor, and (3) including Japan material within the larger context of intercultural communication in our B.S. and M.S. programs in Technical and Professional Communication. After all, it is hard to imagine a group of students more in need of Japan knowledge than those who plan to work in the global technical firms of the 21st century.

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Immersion in Multicultural America: A Language and Culture Program for Japanese University Students

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The purpose of this paper is to share the goals, experiences, and outcomes of what we believe is a unique language and culture program focusing on the multicultural nature of the United States. For two years "Multicultural America" has been the theme of a three to four week program designed for sixteen to twenty university students from a private university in Japan. Although the program has been in existence for seventeen years the specific emphasis on the multicultural theme has been instituted for the last three years. The multicultural theme has evolved as the overarching theme largely due to the professional training, personalities and commitments of the director and the coordinators for the past three years. The primary goal of the program is to immerse Japanese students in America through a combination of a home stay experience, lectures and discussions, focusing on multicultural issues, and one-to-one conversation sessions with tutors from diverse cultural and linguistic backgrounds.

The basic premises of the program are that in order for foreigners to understand America, it is essential that they understand how Americans are represented by an extremely diverse array of cultures, and that this understanding can only be achieved through: discussions of critical issues related to living in a multicultural society, including issues involving the concepts of prejudice, racism, classism, sexism, homophobia, ageism, and discrimination against the handicapped; and personal contact with people representing this diversity, and discussion of issues involved in redressing discriminatory practices through equity/affirmative action programs. This paper presents descriptions of various aspects of this program, such as the background of the administrative and teaching staff, discussion of the curriculum development, data from the participants and the impact of the program.

The Administrative and Teaching Staff

The program has been directed by a Japanese-American professor originally from Hawaii and is coordinated by a Japanese-American bilingual teacher and an African American teacher with expertise in multicultural education. The director has a Ph.D. in Educational Psychology and Research with a focus on language acquisition and cognitive development and twenty-five years of teaching in the California State University system. He taught at the K - 12 grade levels and served as a teacher trainer in the Peace Corps, training Peace Corps volunteers in ESL methodology, language and culture, and has taught ESL to undergraduate and graduate students and professionals at the university level. He has been administering the program for eleven years. In 1986, prior to becoming director of the program, he attended a one-month Japanese Studies Institute held on the campus of California State University, San Diego.

The coordinators for the past three years have been public school teachers trained to work with multicultural student populations from rural and urban communities. One of the coordinators teaches in a suburban elementary school and has a Master's degree in Bilingual/Multicultural Education. She has lived and studied in Japan and is fluent in Japanese. The other coordinator teaches at the secondary level in an urban school, and is completing his Master's degree and public school administrator's credential. The focus of his graduate program has been on working with multicultural student populations in urban settings.

The Tutors

Because of the multicultural theme, criteria for selecting tutors included training and experience relative to the goals of the program emphasizing life and work experiences with culturally and linguistically diverse populations. The tutors are most typically college students training to become elementary and secondary teachers representing Mexican American, Asian, Southeast Asian and African American cultures. For the 1997 program, the eight tutors, aged twenty to twenty-four (except for a twenty-eight year old male) were from the following cultural/linguistic groups: African-American (male), Chinese (female), Mexican (one male; three females, one married), Hmong (married female), Vietnamese (female). One of the tutors majored in Sociology, one in drama, one in art and Spanish and the remaining five were Liberal Studies majors. Five of the eight tutors are in a bilingual/multicultural teacher-training program. The remaining three have worked in various multicultural settings, and one tutor has studied in Spain and is presently studying art in Italy.

Five of the eight tutors are first generation immigrants to the United States, coming to this country during their early childhood years. Except for the African-American tutor, all of the tutors were bilingual. The tutors received an orientation to the program and approximately fifteen hours of training on the structure of the tutorials (teaching dialogs, engaging students in one-to-one conversation, and listening skills), and the history, geography, demographics, and culture of Japan.

Host Families

Host families are selected to be representative of the diversity represented in California, consistent with the multicultural theme of the program. During the 1997 year, there were three Caucasian families (a couple, a single parent with an elementary aged child, and a family with one teenage child living at home), a Filipino-American couple, a single parent Italian-American host mother, a Mexican-American family with two teenage children, a Mexican American/Caucasian couple, and an Italian/Japanese American couple. Two of the families served as host families for the 1996 program. The host families receive a four-hour orientation to the program including : a weekly schedule (the families receive a briefing on the history and nature of the program before agreeing to participate in the program); an introduction of the students to the American home, bathroom culture, laundry, and meals (treating the students as a member of the family is emphasized); and a brief introduction to the history, geography, demographics, language and culture of Japan. They are also given readings and a list of suggested recreational activities.

Curriculum: Lectures, Discussions, and Dialogs

The students are met at the San Francisco International airport by the director and coordinators. The first two days are spent in San Francisco. The students receive an orientation to the program, and a guided tour of San Francisco. With a map, they explore the Fisherman's Wharf area in small groups, encountering the diversity of the people, visitors and merchants, which they notice immediately. The staff encourages the students to communicate in English and become ethnographers observing how people interact with them and among themselves. Safety is emphasized as the primary concern, so the students are required to check in during the day, with one of the staff at the hotel.

The academic program begins with personal introductions among the tutors and the students. This is followed by a lecture on Multicultural America through which the concepts of culture, race, racism, classism, homophobia, prejudice, and discrimination are presented. The lecture serves as a springboard for presentations by the tutors on their personal experiences on topics related to the lecture. Most typically, the tutors share their personal life experiences with prejudice and discrimination either directly or through role playing, dramatic activities. Following this usually highly emotional introduction, the coordinators lead activities to develop trust, respect, cooperation, and communication among the participants. During the program, various speakers lecture and discuss "minority" issues. For example, during the 1997 program, a Puerto Rican professor made a presentation on the changing demographics of the United States and California. In another presentation, a physically disabled graduate student/elementary school teacher discussed his trials, tribulations, and aspirations as a student and as a professional.

Small group and one-to-one discussions between the tutors and the students follow the presentations. Except for suggested questions to be addressed, the conversations are unstructured and meant to allow for a spontaneous sharing of ideas. Occasionally the coordinators lead discussions prior to the one-to-one discussions to bring a focus to the discussions. Homework assignments requiring the students to engage their host families in

discussions of the topics covered in class also lead to an extension of the in-class discussions.

Formal, didactic language instruction is limited to the learning of prepared dialogs on topics such as "Meeting Host Families," and "Telephone Conversations." The students are paired, two students to a tutor, to work on understanding and memorizing the dialogs. Dialogs on various other topics are also created by the students with the aid of tutors. These creative dialogs often reveal the students' insights and perceptions of the program, the tutors, the host families and the administrators. Dialogs created by the tutors have also revealed their perceptions of the students and other aspects of the program.

Impact of the Program

During the 1997-1998 program the following were established as desired outcomes of the program by which the students were evaluated: i) Increased proficiency in the English language (written and oral); ii) Greater awareness of the complexities that exist in a multicultural/pluralistic society; iii) Greater appreciation for interdependence and appreciation of cultures other than one's own; iv) Self evaluation related to the theme and its implications for Japanese society. The sources of data to be discussed below included: a questionnaire in which the students were asked to respond to eleven items with several follow-up questions; excerpts taken from a yearbook put together by the students after their return to Japan (1996); journal records and projects submitted by the students during the program (1997); personal letters sent to the staff after the students return to Japan (1993 to present); and anecdotal records of the staff.

Student Attitudes and Values from the Questionnaire

The majority of the students were between twenty-one and twenty-two years of age although their ages ranged from nineteen to twenty-four. Most typically, the students have never traveled abroad prior to coming to California. During the 1996 year, none of the students had been to the United States, but a few had been to Australia or Hong Kong. As with all Japanese students, the students have studied English as a foreign language every year since their first year in junior high school. Usually, about a fourth of the students have participated in an English Speaking Club where they have the opportunity to interact with an English speaking instructor. Their greater confidence and fluency in speaking English is usually quite evident.

Of the twenty students responding to the questionnaire, seven had studied English privately for anywhere between one half and five years. Their levels of fluency in the language are typically reflective of the extent of their experiences learning English beyond the regular school curriculum. Seven of the students had one or more friends who spoke English; however, it is not clear how much time these students spent with their English speaking friends.

Program Expectations. Most of the students have a fair understanding of the program before coming to California. They receive an explanation of the program from the staff at their home university and view videos and past yearbooks of the program. They understand that they will be studying cultural differences, although some students still maintain that they know little if anything about the program. Some of the students commented that not all students attended all of the orientation sessions held in Japan which they thought were quite brief anyway. Students with sempai, "senior mentors" who had participated in the program, were much more knowledgeable than those who were dependent on the information provided by the university staff.

According to the questionnaire responses, half of the students maintain that the program was not what they expected. They comment that the program was more fun and less stressful than they had anticipated. Students commented that they "... had to study a lot but we also had fun." and that "It was much more rewarding than how it was explained during orientation." They also noted that they did not anticipate so much time with the tutors speaking English. About a third of the students commented that they "Wanted to receive a more descriptive outline" and that they would have liked to study phrases/vocabulary so they could better discuss issues such as discrimination in Japan.

English Learning. Eighty percent (16/20) of the students indicated that the one-to-one conversations with their tutors improved their English levels. They noted that they were able to learn conversational English and that they "...had to try to speak English." It appeared helpful that the "...tutors would wait for (a) response." This, allowing time for students to respond, was emphasized during the tutor training and throughout the program. The students also noted that they were "able to discuss hard issues" and "...to be more assertive and able to communicate true feelings." One student did indicate that "spending time with the tutors all day was hard at times."

Seventy five percent (15/20) of the students indicated that the dialogues helped them improve their English. They commented that they were able to learn useful phrases in a "fun atmosphere." Thirteen of the students commented that the group discussions helped improve their English. Five did not remember what was discussed or noted that they ended up speaking in Japanese, weren't able to open up in a whole group or simply did not have to speak. Half of the students agreed that the out-of-seat activities (role-playing, games, singing, and dancing) helped them to improve their English , but six noted that these activities did not help them improve their English. Twelve of the students felt the lectures helped improve their English while two did not appear to understand much of what was presented.

Seventy percent (14/20) of the students indicated that preparing the group presentations helped them improve their English. They appeared to have taken the presentations seriously as an opportunity to express their true feelings. They liked the idea of learning from their friends. Nine of the students felt that the homework assignments were helpful, some students indicating that "writing...thoughts in English was helpful" and that they "started to think in English." A common comment has been that the assignments allowed the students to work with their families. Some students indicated that there was not time to do the homework, and that they were "always too exhausted."

Seventy percent (14/20) of the students felt that speaking with their Japanese colleagues helped them to improve. They were encouraged to see their friends working and helping each other to excel. They appeared to learn different ways to express themselves through the group work. Some students indicated that they wanted more lectures and more time with other tutors (other than the one they were assigned). The field work and trips seemed to be a highlight for a few students.

Images of America Before and After Participation in the Program. Most of the students maintained that prior to participating in the program they had an image of America as ethnically represented by European (ten) and African-Americans (nine). Native-Americans were the next most frequently identified ethnic group (six). One student noted that "If you live in the country, you are an 'American.'" and that "People should not discriminate." The main source of information of Americans were magazines, television, movies, and music. Half of the students indicated that their image of an American did not change after coming to America. Five indicated that they found Americans friendlier than they expected. Others indicated that they found the people reflective, humorous, and independent. Nine students, indicating that their images had changed, commented that they did not think it would be possible to meet other people, that they saw a greater difference in the socio-economics of people than anticipated, that there were actually "small (body-sized) people," that people did not smoke, and that it was not as "scary" being in America as anticipated.

Host Families and Tutors. Eight of the students indicated that the host families were as they expected. Five indicated that they were different than expected. Two students expected to be with a European-American host family and tutor. Others, not expressing any value judgment, indicated that they did not expect little children in the family. Only one student indicated anticipation of a tutor who would be a European-American. Eleven of the students were quite satisfied with their host families. They commented that the families made them feel comfortable, that the host families did a lot for them, they met friends of the families, and were treated like a real family member. One appeared to have been concerned that the tutor worried about him/her, and one felt bad that the family appeared so busy. Eight of the students indicated that they had a good tutor who "eagerly" helped them learn English, and that it was nice that the tutor was of the same age (as the student). One student felt bad that the tutor did not seem to know anything about Japan.

Multicultural Focus. Speaking to the importance of understanding culture, one student noted, "I was shocked because I didn't really understand my own culture." Another student commented, "I come from a narrow-minded country. I also realize how fortunate I am." The students obviously discussed some very sensitive topics. A student with a Korean tutor shared that "...we were able to discuss the 'Buraku' issue." "When looking at a European-American person, I think how beautiful he/she is." "Didn't have the opportunity to learn/discuss race issues (in Japan)." "Don't meet foreigners (in Japan)."
One student stated, "I plan to marry someone from America." The majority of the students appear to agree on the importance of developing trust, cooperation, communication and respect to counter racism, sexism, and homophobia.

Summary . The program seemed to have raised the students' levels of consciousness

regarding multicultural issues. Whether this will lead to actual changes in behaviors is a question left unanswered. It is realized that the full impact of the program will be difficult to assess without some type of follow-up activity of students two to five years after they return to Japan.

Excerpts from Yearbook, Journals, Letters, and Student Presentations

The following comments are selected to illustrate perceptions, attitudes, behaviors, and values which add to our understanding of the impact of the program:

"I think that if my host family were able to understand Japanese, I would have acted like I would when I was in Japan. That would have irritated myself. But since we didn't share a common language, I had to think about what I wanted to say. My host family treated me like a member of the family. This made me think of how I can sincerely think about them."

"I participated in the program 3 years ago. I now realize how much I actually learned from the program.... The experience I had in Sacramento helps me make choices even now...."

"...We also talked about serious issues.... It was very interesting to hear the tutors share about their background and the experiences they encountered in America. I learned that there are many other ways of living and that every group treasures his/her own culture."

"America was much more bigger than what I had imagined.... I was able to make new friends from diverse backgrounds. It made me realize that we speak a different language, but we are all the same.... ...now I did not feel self conscious about using English.... I now know that America isn't only a trendy and happening place, but a place that has bad points. This doesn't mean that I have negative feelings towards America, but that it was good for me to realize this.... I believe that I have matured because of the people I met in the program...."

"Class in Sacramento was quite different than in Japan. There was a lot of laughter.... Although it was a pleasant, comfortable atmosphere, we still learned a lot. We were always serious about learning."

"I never thought that an Asian could be considered an 'American.' It was very enlightening. I learned a lot about 'life.'"

"It (the program) did not increase my English level, but I learned a lot from the experience."

The following comment from one student is a fair description of what the program has attempted to offer for the past three years: "The class schedule was set up in a way that helped my learning. It was split up with discussions, dialogues, etc. I could never experience something like this in Japan. We went to Oak Park (inner city community center) to work with children. We also visited two different schools and later discussed the issue of classism. (The schools were in highly contrasting communities socio-economically) I believe I was able to see the real America. When we studied sexism, it made me think very hard because I never had to think about it (before). I was not aware of these issues."

A Field Trip. One of the more powerful experiences provided by the program during the last two years is a visit to a community center in the inner-city, one which is mainly attended by the African American children in the community. The following are representative post-visitation comments made by the students in their journals ("the center" is substituted for the actual name of the center, and "the community" is substituted for the name of the community):

"I am sad that they will be discriminate. When I went to the center, I felt actually classism. I think yesterday I had a good experience."

"I noticed that the town near the center was different. Houses aren't beautiful and some houses has the big fence."

"....After all, I thought white kids is more pretty than black one. But, I thought after white and black kids are equal. I understand.... All I know I love smiling face."

"Children is poor. Because I watched clothes of children. When we went to go shopping (in the suburbs) it is different clothes of white people children. Black people children became attached us soon. I loved children. I loved children of the center."

"I think the center children is different from our host family's are a little (for example house and cars)."

"I was surprised since almost all children were black and people I saw near the center were almost all Black. I rarely see black people near my host family's house."

Most of the comments indicate personal growth or at least reflection about personal growth related to multicultural issues, academics and life in general. The director and coordinators of the program believe that the impact of the program on students' personal growth should continue receiving serious consideration as one of the major goals of the program.

Staff and Host Family Attitudes and Values

Culture and Personality of the Japanese. All of the participants in the program, including the director, coordinators, host families and tutors agree that we have all gained as much through our involvement in the program as have the students and tutors. We have learned about common characteristics of the Japanese students including the following:

"their loyalty to 'the group,' be it the peer group, family, school, or nation"

"their individual characters; the fact that each one of the students have distinct personalities just as we do. This is especially evident to the tutors and host families who develop fairly intimate relationships with pairs of students"

"the fact that the double standard, men favored over women, is clearly evident among the students; e.g., the 'leader' of the group is always one of the men inspite of the fact that there are usually not more than four men out of the sixteen or twenty students"

"that young college students do not appear to have much experience discussing issues such as class, race, and sexuality"

"Japanese people have fewer options in life than we do relative to education and professional alternatives, and that this is especially true relative to age, family background, and gender."

Culture and Personality of the Americans. We have found that we are much more similar to each other than to the Japanese inspite of our differences. As one African American student exclaimed, "I never felt so American after having spent so much time with these (the Japanese) students." Furthermore, compared to the Japanese, "we are highly individualistic in our behavior, the cultures we represent, our interests and inclinations."

In summary, we are well aware that the students are reluctant to make any negative comments about the program. However, we have received enough feedback, directly and indirectly, to convince us that there is a lot of room for improvement. The program needs to be more clearly described for students, host families and tutors (This paper may, to some extent serve this purpose). There is a need to better prepare students, tutors, and host families; e.g., to learn more about the historical and cultural information on Japan and the United States and the vocabulary and concepts for discussing multicultural issues. Would a more limited homestay experience combined with dormitory living with American students more effectively engage the students in activities to facilitate their learning English and American culture? There needs to be a more through assessment of students attitudes, values, and language competencies. The time-line of the program needs to be modified to fit the schedule of the university; length, beginning and ending dates. How important are the out-of-town trips; e.g., Tahoe, Yosemite, and the amusement park? The processes and criteria for selecting the director, coordinators, students, host families, and tutors need to be more clearly articulated (again, this paper is a starting point). The overall objective of the program should be further discussed; e.g., in attempting to affect the attitudes and values of the students, are we engaging in a form of cultural imperialism?

Columns

Book Reviews

Dirk Anthony Ballendorf
University of Guam

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Denfeld , D. C. (1997). Hold the Marianas: The Japanese Defense of the Islands. Shippensburg, PA: white Mane Publishing Company.

The Mariana Islands were the last Micronesian island protecting the Japanese home islands . Their fall spelled clearly doom for Japan's part in the Pacific War. As United States marines and army units landed on Saipan's western beaches, the Japanese defenders, under the overall command of Lt. General Yoshitsugo Saito, retreated steadily into the northern reaches of the island. Before committing suicide, General Saito summed up the Japanese situation in his final address to his troops: "Heaven has not given us an opportunity. We have not been able to utilize fully the terrain. We have fought in unison up to the present time, but now we have no materials with which to fight, and our artillery for attack has been completely destroyed. Our comrades have fallen one after another. Despite the bitterness of defeat, we pledge seven lives to repay our country" (p. 88).

Following the downfall of Saipan, Denfeld goes on to treat the battle for Tinian and the defeat there. Rota and Anatahan were two Mariana Islands which the Americans by-passed . Since no landing took place, the experience of the Japanese soldiers there was quite different from other islands, although there were elaborate ly constructed defenses. In the case of Rota, which is close to Guam where the Americans built a tremendous airbase from which to bomb the Japanese home islands, the planes returning from missions over Japan often dropped their left-over bombs, causing severe suffering. The Japanese anti-aircraft gunners there developed a fear of the American pilots because of their deadly accuracy.

This excellent book depicts the battle for the Marianas from the Japanese Point of view. D. Colt Denfeld has done a masterful job with this perspective by using many archival sources that have not been examined before. All in all, it is an exciting book, and one that will enhance the reading lists of both graduate and undergraduate university history courses on World War II.

Giles, D. T., Jr. (Ed.). (1994). Captive of the Rising Sun: The POW Memoirs of Rear Admiral Donald T. Giles, USN. Annapolis, MD: Naval Institute Press.

Donald T. Giles was the Vice Governor of Guan at the time of the Japanese invasion of the island on 10 December, 1941. Together with other Americans and foreigners, including Guam Governor George McMillin, he was sent to Japan aboud the Argentine maru in January, 1942. There the party of some 420 people were interned at the Zentsuji POW Camp on Shikkoku island.

This volume contains the memories of Giles, who rose to the rank of rear admiral before his retirement in 1953. Most of the writing by Admiral Giles was accomplished in the 1970s when many of the people who had been internet with him were still alive. Giles has nothing good to say about the camp he was in; the treatment and conditions were always harsh, and it is a wonder that he did not die.

One highlight of the volume is the inclusion a number of interesting and valuable photographs, previously unpublished which were personally collected by the author/editor from POW internees and shipmates of Admiral Giles.

His son, Donald T. Giles, Jr., edited and compiled these memoirs for publication. The volume makes for very interesting reading, especially for those familiar with Guam and internment camps during World War II. Giles reveals that many of the internees of the camps had not been properly followed-up or studied by medical authorities in either the United States of Japan. The Naval Institute deserves great credit for publishing these memoirs which might otherwise be lost to history.

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